00082073

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-400 023.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016

REMARKS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF ROME

AND

ITS ENVIRONS:

BEING A CLASSICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

OF

THE RUINS

OF THAT CELEBRATED CITY.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

BY ANDREW LUMISDEN, ESQ.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL AND ANTIQUARY SOCIETIES

OF EDINBURGH.

"Mihi pulchrum imprimis videtur, non pati occidere quibus æternitas debeatur."

PLINIUS SECUNDUS, l. 5. ep. 8.

THE SECOND EDITION.

82073

ae

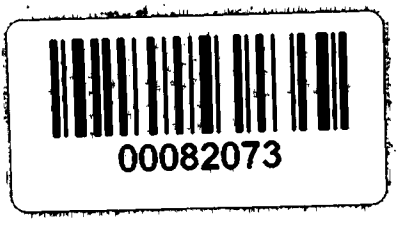
LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND ROW,

FOR G. AND W. NICOL, BOOKSELLERS TO HIS MAJESTY,

PALL-MALL.

1812.


00082073

THE

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author of the following Remarks, who resided many years at Rome, committed them to writing for his own private amusement. But, having shown them to several of his friends, in whose taste and learning he has much confidence, he now ventures to present them to the Public. He pretends not to elegance of style: accuracy of observation is his great object. He has pointed out the sources from whence knowledge of the Roman Antiquities is to be drawn. He has corrected many mistakes that various authors have fallen into, and carefully cited his authorities. Though he is far from thinking that he has exhausted his extensive and difficult subject, yet he flatters himself that these Remarks, imperfect as they are, may prove useful to those who shall hereafter visit Rome, as well as to every lover of the fine arts, and of classical learning; and that they will not be unacceptable even to persons who have already examined the Antiquities of that renowned city.

These Remarks could easily have been lengthened out; but, in a work of this kind, the Author preferred conciseness, and wished to say no more than what was necessary: at the same time he hopes his ideas will be found to be sufficiently clear. Such as they are, he submits them to the examination of the candid Public.

The Work might, no doubt, have admitted of an extensive number of engravings; which, however, would have greatly increased its price, and thereby rendered it, though more splendid, less universally useful. The Author, therefore, has given only such, as were indispensably necessary for illustrating to the eye, what he could not do so clearly by words. They are all of them taken from accurate original drawings,* excepting only those of the Pantheon and Vespasian's Amphitheatre, which are copied, the one from Desgodetz, and the other from Fontana. With regard to other engravings, which might have been, but are not here given, the curious reader is referred, at the proper places, to the different authors, by whom they have been published.

In the course of the Work, the Author frequently uses the modern Roman measure called a *Palm*, employed by their architects; it is equal to 8,779 English inches.

* Plates I. and III. are delineated by the ingenious Mr. John Myddelton, from maps, plans, and drawings in the Author's collection. Perhaps by comparing the Plan of Ancient Rome, Plate III. with one of Modern Rome, the reader will be enabled to find out more easily the situation of the Antiquities mentioned in these Remarks. The best Plan of Modern Rome is that by Giambattista Nolli.

London, 1797.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

THE foundation of *Rome*, like that of most cities of great antiquity, is wrapt up in fable.* The Roman Records were, in a great measure, destroyed by the *Gauls*, 120 years after the expulsion of their kings; and their oldest Historian, *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, lived 164 years after this loss. Uncertainty, therefore, must necessarily attend many of the events related in the first 500 years of their history. Rome founded by Romulus.

Rome,† situated in the 41° 53′ and 54″ of north latitude, was, according to Varro, founded by *Romulus*, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, that is, 431 years after the destruction of Troy, and 753 years before Christ.

* Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat."—T. Liv. l. 1. præf.

† Rome in the Greek, which was the same as the Pelagian language, signified strength.—Plut. Life of Romulus.

Although Romulus may justly be called the founder of Rome, yet, before his time, it seems to have been inhabited, and was named Saturnia.

"A patre dicta meo quondam Saturnia Roma est." *

The same is confirmed by Pliny †—"Saturnia ubi nunc Roma est." But it appears that Rome had a concealed name, which superstitious and political reasons made unlawful to be revealed.‡ *Angerona* is supposed to have been this name, and the *secret divinity* who presided over the fate of Rome. She was represented, like Harpocrate, with her finger on her mouth, the emblem of secrecy and mystery.§

Could we give credit to the History of the beginning of this celebrated city, what a series of wonders does it present to us! What an high idea must we have of the abilities of Romulus! He civilized and reduced into a regular society, a set of men, drawn together by the love of novelty; many of whom had fled from the places of their birth, to escape the punishment due to their crimes; who lived on pillage, and breathed nothing but anarchy and unlimited liberty. How surprising is it that, from the union of such men, an empire should arise, the citizens of which were as illustrious by their virtues, as by their bravery and universal conquest!

* Ovid. Fast. l. 6. v. 31.

† Plin. l. 3. c. 5. ‡ Ib.

§ "Nam propterea ipsi Romani et deum, in cujus tutela urbs Roma est, ut ipsius urbis Latinum nomen ignotum esse voluerunt . . . . . Sunt qui *Angeronam* quæ digito ad os admoto silentium denuntiat."——Macrobius, l. 3. c. 9.

Its situation.

Nor could the founder of *Rome* have fixed upon a more advantageous situation for a great city. A cluster of small hills, contiguous to each other, rising out of an extensive and fertile plain, and washed by the *Tyber*,* fourteen miles from the sea,† could not but render it healthful, strong, and commodious.

After the Gauls had retreated from *Rome*, the people, beholding the ruins of their city, desired to retire to *Veii*, and there fix the seat of empire. A situation, excellent as it was, still much inferior to that of Rome: but which the good sense and eloquence of Camillus happily prevented.‡

Epochs of Roman history.

The government of Rome was regal for 244 years; and seven kings only are said to have reigned during that period.§

* The name of this river may be derived from the Celtic, viz. *Ti* in that language signifies *great*, and *ber* or *beir*, *water*. The Tyber, no doubt, is the greatest river in that part of Italy. But in the Scotch and Irish Celtic, still preserved in these countries, *Tibhir* seems to signify, to spring up as a fountain. Vide Lhuyd's Archæologia Britannica.

† Pliny places Rome sixteen miles from the sea. "Roma terrarum caput, XVI. m. pass. intervallo a mari." L. 3. c. 5.

‡ Livy makes Camillus say—"Non sine causâ dii hominesque hunc urbi condendæ locum elegerunt; salubberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur: mare vicinum ad commoditates, nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum: regionum Italiæ medium ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum." Decad. 1. l. 5. c. 54.—Such indeed is the situation of Rome!

§ Much critical learning has been employed for and against the length of these reigns: but it is foreign to my present subject to examine here that controversy.

Provoked at the misbehaviour of *Tarquin*, the people abolished the royalty, and the republic was governed by consuls and other magistrates, for the space of 462 years, till *Julius Cæsar*, under the name of perpetual dictator, overturned the commonwealth.

From *Julius Cæsar*, till *Constantine* removed the seat of empire to *Byzantium*, which he called *Constantinople*, A. D. 330, *Rome* was governed by the Emperors.

Since that fatal period *Rome* has undergone many revolutions. It has felt all the miseries of civil wars, as well as the irruptions of barbarous nations. It has often been sacked and burnt.

Before the *Popes* removed to *Avignon*, A. D. 1305, their power was often disputed at *Rome*. But since their return, A. D. 1377, they have been despotic masters of that noble city.

Intention of these remarks

I am not, however, to trace here the history of the revolutions of *Rome*: nor shall I attempt to give a description of it at any particular period. I purpose only to throw together a few remarks on the magnificent remains of antiquity, now to be seen in and about that city. I cannot, indeed, but sometimes mention classical situations, of which no monuments at present exist, but are still too remarkable to be passed over in silence. In the course of these remarks I shall have occasion to observe many of the Roman institutions

and customs, whether civil, military, or religious; as well as the progress of arts and luxury.

Use of the remains.

Although these remains are only the skeleton of its former grandeur, they are of infinite use and value to the lovers of the fine arts, and of classical learning: and they still characterize its ancient power and splendour. It is indeed to be regretted, that they are daily diminishing. But how much do we owe to the industry of many ingenious artists, who have measured and delineated these ruins, models of perfection in architecture, and by means of the graver, thus transmitted them down to posterity.

Revival of architecture.

When the Italians, after a long lethargy, opened their eyes, about the year 1400, they soon perceived the superior beauty of ancient Greek and Roman architecture. To restore that useful art, and to fix the pleasing proportions of its different orders, they measured the most elegant remains of antiquity in Rome. From *Marcellus's theatre* they took the *Doric*, from the temple of *Fortuna Virilis* the *Ionic*, from the *Pantheon* the *Corinthian*, and from *Titus's triumphal arch* the *Composite*. But the restorers of architecture did not find, among the ruins of Rome, any monument so entire, from which they could measure the exact proportions of the *Tuscan* order: its ancient proportions are therefore uncertain. They have called this order *Rustic*, and made it the strongest of all: yet, according to Pliny,* the *Tuscan* was lighter than the *Doric;* for he gives seven diameters to the former, and only six to the latter. But

* Hist. Nat. l. 36, c. 23.

this probably is an error, as observed by the learned M. Scipio Maffei,* of the transcribers of the text of Pliny, who, in place of VII. to the *Doric*, have taken away I. and added it to the *Tuscan*. Three of these orders are Greek, viz. the *Doric*, the *Ionic*, and the *Corinthian*: the *Tuscan* and the *Composite* are Italian. Thus the Italians have invented the heaviest and the lightest of these orders: the one is the beginning, and the other the consummation of the art.†

Greek architecture used at Rome.

Architecture, the child of necessity, and consequently the invention of every country, has always been classed among the fine arts. Slow indeed must have been its progress from the simple hut to the luxurious palace. Although it cannot be properly called an imitative art, yet the learned and ingenious Greeks have reduced it to rules, which include both conveniency and beauty. And such are their elegant proportions, that, it is remarkable, when artists, either from a love of novelty, or the vanity of being thought inventors, have deviated from these rules, their works cease to please. It was from conquered Greece that the Romans acquired real taste in the fine arts. Even in the time of Augustus they yielded the palm in literature, in science, and in the fine arts, to Greece. They thought that their superior political knowledge, and great martial achievements, afforded them sufficient honour. As a proof of this, I need only mention the well known verses of

* Degli Anfiteatri, l. 2, c. 2.

† For the proportions of these different orders, as well as for the parts that accompanied them, and the terms used by architects, see Vitruvius, Palladio, Vignola, &c.

Virgil: verses so elegant that they cannot be too often repeated:

"Excudent alij spirantia mollius æra:
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus
Describent radio; et surgentia sidera dicent;
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."*

The same truth is acknowledged by Cicero—"Doctrina Græcia nos, et omni literarum genere superabat: in quo erat facile vincere non repugnantes."†

Rome first ornamented by Tuscan artists.

The first artists who ornamented Rome were Tuscans. Solidity and even grandeur characterize their works: witness the foundations of the *Capitol*, and the remains of the *Cloaca Maxima*. Indeed the many Hetruscan monuments still preserved are a proof of the taste of that ingenious people in the fine arts.‡ Their sculpture and painting were admired at Rome, in the time of Horace.§—*Tyrrhena sigilla*.—But when the Romans became acquainted with Greece, they could not but admire the superior taste of that country, from whence they brought artists to embellish their city. So that the magnificent buildings erected at Rome, towards the end of the republic, and during the empire, were executed either by Greek

* Æn. 6. v. 847. † Cic. Quæst. Tusc. l. 1 c. 1.

‡ Vide "Thomæ Dempsteri de Etruria regali libri septem." Florentiæ, 1723. § L. 2. ep. 2. v. 180.

artists, or by their Roman scholars. What I say of Greek architecture may be extended to sculpture: hence I may conclude, that many of the fine statues found at Rome were the works of Greek artists, although executed there. The distinction, therefore, often made between Greek and Roman statues, seems to be ill founded. Indeed at that epoch, the language, philosophy, and arts of Greece, were the ardent study of every Roman, who wished to render himself conspicuous in the state. It is, however, probable that the Romans, long prior to this period, had picked up a little of the Pythagorean philosophy, from the school of Crotona, in that part of Italy called Magna Græcia; since we find that the republic erected a statue to Pythagoras, as the wisest of the Greek philosophers!*

Introduction of Grecian arts.

The first specimens of Grecian taste in the fine arts, brought to *Rome*, were found at *Tarentum*, taken by *Curius Dentatus* in the year 481 U. C. and which he exhibited to public view in his triumph. In former times, Florus informs us, the victorious generals of Rome produced in their triumphs herds of sheep and cattle taken from the Sabines and the Volsci, the cars of the Gauls, and the broken arms of the Samnites: but in that which was shown for the conquest of Tarentum, the procession was led by Molossian, Thessalian, Macedonian, Brutian, and Apulian captives, followed with carriages loaded with *gold*, *purple*, *pictures*, *statues*, and other Tarentine luxuries.†

* Plin. l. 34. c. 6.

† "Ante hunc diem nihil nisi pecora Volscorum, greges Sabinorum, carpenta

Devastations of Rome.

We are frequently told that the temples, and great buildings of ancient Rome were destroyed by the intemperate zeal of the Christians, after their religion had been established by law. But whoever impartially examines history, will find that it was not the Christians; but that the barbarians, who invaded Italy, were the chief authors of these devastations. Even after *Constantine* impolitically removed the seat of empire to Constantinople, Rome continued to be embellished by new buildings, down to the time of *Honorius*.* Nor is it to be supposed that the Christians would wantonly destroy buildings, which either ornamented their city, or were their private property. The Christians, no doubt, destroyed some of the statues, and overturned the altars of the pagan deities, but not their temples, many of which they converted into Christian churches. Some of the temples still remaining are a convincing proof of it. Indeed St. Augustin says,* that they destroyed neither the temples, statues, nor sacred groves, any more than the persons of the heathens, but converted and dedicated them to Christian uses. The smallness in general of the Roman temples, which rendered them unfit for Christian worship, is no doubt the reason that so few of them were converted into churches: hence they either perished for want of repairs, or were taken down for their precious materials, with

Gallorum, fracta Samnitium arma vidisses: tum si captivos aspiceres, Molossi, Thessali, Macedones, Bruttius, Apulus, atque Lucanus: si pompas, aurum, purpura, *signa*, *tabulæ*, Tarentinæque deliciæ." Flor. l. 1. c. 18.

* "Cum templa, idola, luci . . . . . in honorem Dei convertuntur, hoc de illis fit quod de hominibus, cum ex sacrilegis et impiis in veram religionem convertuntur." Aug. ad. Publicol. ep. 47.

which other buildings were decorated. *Alaric*, *Genseric*, *Ricimer*, and *Totila* alternatively took Rome, in the course of one hundred and thirty-seven years: that is, from the year of Christ 409 to 546. It was during these incursions that the city was so defaced. *Totila* was twice in possession of *Rome*, and was repulsed a third time by *Belisarius*. It was particularly in his second invasion that he committed the greatest ravages, and destroyed a considerable part of *Aurelian's* walls, which *Belisarius* afterwards repaired. His intention seems to have been to have laid *Rome* level with the ground. It is true, that the *Popes*, and powerful personages of Rome, during the middle age, and even in late times, blind to the elegance of Roman taste and Roman grandeur, in place of preserving what remained of buildings, much defaced either by the barbarians, or by the lapse of time, often destroyed the remainder, for the sake of the materials, which they employed in other works.

Rome, no doubt, suffered much in the middle age from the civil wars of the Roman barons, as well as from foreign invasions. Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, marched to Rome with his Normands to relieve Gregory VII. called Hildebrand, elected Pope in the year 1072, besieged in Hadrian's mausoleum by Henry IV. Emperor of Germany. The Romans attached to the emperor, fortified themselves in the Capitol: after many bloody actions, Robert took the Capitol, and almost levelled it to the ground, as he had done most of the considerable buildings that then remained about the *Forum*, and as far as the Lateran palace, where he was encamped. See Platina's Life of Gregory VII. Though these buildings had been

already much defaced, yet such excursions must have added greatly to the devastation. Besides, from this period, during a space of above 300 years, the almost constant civil wars of the Roman barons, either with each other, or with the Popes, must have been fatal to the city. The powerful families took possession of the strongest buildings, which they used as fortifications. Thus the Colonnas seized Augustus's mausoleum, and Constantine's baths—the Orsinis the mausoleum of Hadrian, and Pompey's theatre—the Frangipani Titus's amphitheatre, and the septizonium of Severus—the Savelli the theatre of Marcellus, &c.—The attack and defence must have been equally ruinous to these buildings.

Use of the classics in examining Rome.

As the antiquities often throw much light on many passages of the Roman classics, so these authors serve reciprocally to explain the ruins. I shall, therefore, in this inquiry, freely make use of these elegant and sure guides. Great, indeed, as the pleasure is that they every where afford, yet on the spot we read them with an additional enthusiasm, when we see the scenes they either describe or allude to. So many quotations may perhaps appear, to some readers, an affectation of learning; but in works of this kind they are indispensably necessary.

If examining the very ruins of *Rome* gives us such pleasure, what must have been our admiration to have seen it in all its splendour:—to have seen its *conscript fathers* deliberating in the *senate*, or its factious and ambitious *tribunes* haranguing the people in the *comitium*:—to have seen the pomp of a

triumph:—to have heard a *Cicero*, with his irresistible eloquence, declaiming from the *rostrum*:—or a *Virgil* and a *Horace* reciting their immortal lays to *Augustus*!

Progress of Rome.

We must not form to ourselves the same idea of *Roma Quadrata*,* founded by *Romulus*, consisting of a few huts, built of wood and reeds, and confined to the *Palatine hill*, and of *Imperial Rome*, the capital of the world under the emperors. Simple in its beginning, it became at last the first of cities.

Its streets narrow, and houses high.

Rome, notwithstanding the magnificence of its buildings, was irregularly built. The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses high. The ancients seem to have thought, that such a disposition of a city was a defence against violent winds, and great heat. *Nero* burnt *Rome*, from the vanity, perhaps, to rebuild it on a more regular plan—"offensus deformitate veterum ædificiorum."†—He ordered the streets to be made straight and broad; and the houses to be built of a proper height, ornamented with areas and porticos. But this alteration was not universally approved. "Erant," says Tacitus,‡ "qui crederent veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxisse: quoniam angustiæ itinerum, et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis vapore perrumperentur; at nunc patulam latitudinem, et nulla umbra defensam, graviore æstu ardescere." To prevent fire, *Nero* directed the houses to be constructed without beams to a certain height, with stones

* Plutarch, in his life of Romulus, gives an account of the ceremonies he observed in tracing the walls of the city.

† Suet. V. Neronis, c. 38. ‡ Ann. l. 15. c. 43.

from *Gabium* or *Albano*, which were supposed to resist fire. "Quod is lapis ignibus impervius est."*

Height of houses.

Before the reign of Augustus, the houses in Rome seem to have been raised to a great height, which rendered them insecure, and sometimes occasioned disagreeable accidents, by their falling down. To remedy which, that emperor, by a law,† ordered that no building should exceed seventy feet. When Nero rebuilt Rome, we find he ordered the houses to be built to a proper height; but what that height was, is not mentioned by Tacitus: perhaps it was the same as regulated by Augustus. But Trajan afterwards limited the height of houses to sixty feet—"statuens, ne domorum altitudo LX. superaret pedes."‡

Regulations for building.

The laws of the XII. Tables § ordered, that houses should not touch each other; but that there should be an interval of two feet and a half between house and house. This distance was called *ambitus*. The civil law names this *ambitus—spatium legitimum*.‖ In the early period of Rome, and during a great part of the republic, as the houses were chiefly built of wood, this distance between them not only served for a free passage, but prevented, in some measure, the progress of fire. Thus as the houses were not joined together by common walls, the great buildings were called *insulæ*. In these *insulæ* there were

* Tacit. Ann. l. 15. c. 43. † Strabo, l. 5.

‡ "Aurelius Victor ad Vitam Trajani, sub finem."

§ Tab. 8. lex 1. ‖ Lex 13. Digest. de servitut. urban. præd.

often small houses for the use of the lower citizens. Towards the end of the republic, when Rome became more extensi the number of these *insulæ* diminished, and the buildings car.. to join each other. Nero * seems to have restored the ancie.. method of building; but in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius Verus, the houses again came to touch. Several regulations were afterwards made with regard to building. Constantine † ordered that private houses should be 100 feet distant from the public granaries; and 15 feet from other buildings. Theodosius ‡ ordered that there should be a space of 15 feet between private houses and public granaries; and that the *meniana, i. e.* the balconies or terraces of private houses, should be 10 feet distant from each other, and 15 feet from public buildings. Laws to regulate buildings in great cities may be highly necessary; but a multiplicity of laws to direct the manners of a people, are a proof of their degeneracy. Thus Rome, when governed by the short laws of the XII. Tables, was more virtuous than in the time of Justinian, when their code of laws was become so voluminous.

Luxury in building

It was after the last *Punic* war, and the conquest of Greece, that luxury in building made such progress in Rome. Many expensive buildings had been erected towards the end of the republic. In the 676th year of Rome, the finest house there was that of M. Lepidus; but in thirty-five years after, it was surpassed in beauty by many others, which, in their turn, were

* Tacit. l. 15. Annal. c. 42.

† Lex 4. and 46. Cod. Theod. de operibus publicis.

‡ Lex 10. and 11. Cod. de ædificiis publicis.

greatly eclipsed by those of the emperors. To embellish these buildings, pictures, statues, bas-relieves, and marble columns were brought from Greece, as well as granite obelisks from Egypt, and from every country where these elegant luxuries could be found. It is true that *Augustus* added considerably to the magnificence of the city; insomuch that he boasted—"marmoream se relinquere, quam lateritiam accepisset."* But M. Portius Cato had justly foretold that Rome would decline, when it came to be built with marble in the place of brick.† This taste for building increased much under the emperors, and continued to do so till the time of *Dioclesian*. But architecture and sculpture seem to have been in their greatest perfection in the reigns of *Trajan* and *Adrian*.

Pictures, statues, and bas-relieves.

Pliny, in tracing the progress of the fine arts, mentions many of the pictures, statues, and bas-relieves, and the places in Rome where they were preserved: but, alas! very few of these masterpieces of art now exist.‡ Indeed the philosophic historian expresses his surprise, that the censors, whilst they enacted sumptuary laws to regulate the expense of the table, should not have prevented the importation of these expensive monuments of the fine arts.§ So fond were the Romans of statues, that Cassiodorus,‖ who died in the 562, at the age of 100, says, there were as many statues at Rome as inhabitants of that city: but, though the number was no doubt very great, this was probably an exaggeration——

* Suet. V. Augusti, c. 29.

† Livy, l. 34. c. 4.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. l. 34, 35, and 36.

§ Plin. ib. l. 36. c. 1.

‖ Lib. 7. variarum.

"Statuas primum Tusci in Italia invenisse referuntur, quas amplexa posteritas, pæne parem populum urbi dedit, quam natura procreavit."

Remains to be seen at Rome.

The remains of ancient buildings, to be seen in and about *Rome*, are chiefly public works, viz. temples, theatres, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, baths, aqueducts, sepulchres, &c. We find few remains of the houses of private persons: and what we see are so defaced, that we can form no accurate ideas of them. Vitruvius and other authors have preserved to us the names of the different parts of these buildings, viz. *vestibulum*, *atrium*, *cavædium*, *triclinia*, *cœnationes*, *cœnacula*, *diætæ*, *cubicula*, &c. The *vestibulum* was reckoned no part of the house, but the court between it and the street. The *atrium* was a sort of porch or hall. Cato tells us, that the frugal old Romans used to sup in their *atrium* on two dishes;—"In atriis duobus ferculis epulabantur."* The *cavædium* and the

Atrium.

* It was in the *atrium* that the Romans, who had acquired the *jus imaginis*, which was the same as the *jus nobilitatis*, placed their own and their predecessors' *images*, that they might be seen by the people. They seem to have been busts made of wax:

"Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ
Atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus."

Juv. sat. 8. v. 19.

Appius Claudius, in the year of Rome 259, was the first who dedicated, in temples and in public places, shields, on which were painted or engraved portraits of his ancestors. Marcus Æmilius, in the 671 of Rome, placed not only in his own house, but likewise in the Æmilian basilic, the portraits of his forefathers. Pliny, approving of this custom, says—"origo plena virtutis, faciem reddi in scuto cujusque, qui fuerit usus illo.—Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 3. These portraits produced useful effects, and were not placed for mere ostentation.

atrium were not the same, although some authors have considered them as synonymous. The *atrium* was the first hall or entry, whereas the *cavædium* seems to have been an hall or court, in the centre or interior part of the building, which led immediately to the different apartments. It was sometimes covered and sometimes open, and more or less ornamented according to the magnificence of the building. This distinction between the *atrium* and the *cavædium* is pointed out by the younger Pliny, in his description of his Laurentine Villa.* the *triclinia*, *cœnationes*, *cœnacula*, and *diætæ*, were all eating rooms. The first had its name from the beds, on which three persons lay in recumbent postures at table, but which to us appears to have been very inconvenient: it was after their eastern conquests, that the Romans adopted this indolent, but which they thought luxurious custom. The second was the great eating hall. The third was a more private eating room, and was the term commonly used for the eating rooms of the lower kind of people. And the last seem to have been small eating rooms, resembling our parlours.† The *cubicula*

Thus Sallust [Bellum Jugurthinum, c. 4.] observes, that the Fabii, the Scipios, and other great men of the republic, declared that nothing elevated their minds more to virtue, than the sight of the portraits of their ancestors: for they recalled to their minds the great actions they had performed, and inflamed their breasts with a love of glory, which nothing could extinguish, till they had equalled the justly acquired honours of their forefathers.

* Lib. 2. ep. 17.

† Supper was the principal meal of the Romans, which, in the time of the republican frugality, began at their ninth hour of the day, as they computed their time, which I shall afterwards examine; but, when luxury increased, it began at their tenth hour. Martial, in transmitting some verses to Euphemus,

were evidently bed-chambers. But the houses of the Romans, in the time of their splendour, seem to have been tow- rather than the habitations of particular persons; for t included in their precincts every thing subservient either to or luxury.

Luxury encouraged by the emperors.

In the early period of the Roman republic, frugality and patriotism went hand in hand. Modestly lodged themselves, they employed what riches they had to build temples and public works. The house did not then honour the master, but the master the house: in their huts dwelt justice, generosity, probity, faith, and honour. It was towards the end of the republic that, enriched by conquest, luxury made such progress, and hastened its ruin. For luxury is the certain destroyer of commonwealths: although, perhaps, it may be compatible, in some degree, with extensive monarchies: but even these luxury, like a canker-worm, will at last destroy. *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, able politicians, who had overturned the commonwealth, and were founding a monarchy, artfully evaded the enacting of sumptuary laws, or any reform of manners

to be presented by him to the emperor when at supper, informs us how the Romans employed themselves during the day:

> " Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora;
> Exercet raucos tertia caussidicos;
> In quinctam varios extendit Roma labores;
> Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit;
> Sufficit in nonam nitidis octava palæstris;
> Imperat extructos frangere nona toros.
> Hora libellorum decima est, Eupheme, meorum." L. 4. ep. 8.

proposed to them by the senate. *Tiberius* said,* "we were frugal when citizens of one town, but we now consume the riches of the world: we now make both masters and slaves work for us."——"The examples of ancient severity were changed into a more agreeable manner of living." "Multa duritiei veterum melius et lætius mutata." The emperors therefore promoted and encouraged luxury and shows of every kind, well knowing that they had little to fear from men immersed in pleasure:

"Non his juventus orta parentibus
Infecit æquor sanguine Punico,
Pyrrhumque, et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum, Hannibalemque dirum."†

But, notwithstanding Augustus's political knowledge, a principal cause of the decline of the empire may be traced from him. Because, thinking it a security to his new government, he enervated the citizens, by indulging them in the love of pleasure and ease; and thus he rendered them, who should have been the proper defenders of the empire, unfit for the fatigues of war. And, in place of the citizens, he employed mercenary soldiers to guard the cities; and limited the bounds of the empire by rivers and great fosses, or by steep mountains, desert and impracticable passes, which he injudiciously thought would defend the empire.‡

* Tacitus, Ann. l. 3. c. 34.
† Hor. l. 3. od. 6.
‡ Herodian, l. 2. art. 38.

Chimnies.

It has been a matter of dispute whether or not the ancients used chimneys, or only heated their rooms with coals on braziers, as is still common in most parts of Italy. They probably made more use of brasiers than chimneys. But when they burnt wood, which Horace tells us they did, they must necessarily have had chimneys to carry off the smoke:

"Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco
Largè reponens."*

That the Romans had chimneys may be inferred from Virgil.†

"*Ante focum*, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra."

Here the bard, always accurate in expression, must have meant a chimney, and not a brasier; which last was circular, placed in the middle of the room, and round which people sat: the preposition *ante* could not therefore, with propriety, be applied to it.

Although among the ruins of Rome I observed no chimneys, yet that they were used there, as well as in Greece, seems to appear from passages in ancient authors.—Philocleon, in the comedy of the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, act 1. sc. 2, hid himself in a chimney. A slave hearing some noise, called out—"what noise is that in the pipe of the chimney?"—Philocleon, finding himself discovered, answered, "that it was the smoke which endeavoured to get out."—And the son of Philocleon, a little after, complains that they call him the son of

* Hor. l. 1. od. 9. † Ecl. 5. v. 70.

a chimney-sweeper. And Appian, *de Bell. Civ. l.* 4. mentioning the proscriptions of the triumvirates, tells us that many citizens hid in chimneys to conceal themselves from the murderers. We know, even at present, how uncertain it is to construct chimneys, so as to prevent smoke. And though the Romans may not have constructed theirs on mechanical or philosophical principles, yet they must, in general, have succeeded to do so tolerably well; otherwise Horace would not have complained so much of smoke, at one of his stages, in his journey to Brundisium:

——"nisi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo;
Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino."*

It is true, the wood here used, being green and moist, would have occasioned more smoke. Cato† indeed says, that wood, soaked in the lees of olive oil, burns well, and produces no smoke. The same observation is mentioned by Pliny.‡—"Postremò ligna macerata amurcâ, nullius fumi tædio ardere." Flues were used for heating the baths, as will appear when I come to that subject.

Glass windows.

The ingenious art of making glass is of great antiquity. The quantities found in Herculaneum, and elsewhere, are a proof of it. Indeed it has been doubted if the ancients employed it in their windows: but it is clear that they did so, from a glass window found in the ruins of *Pompeia*. Besides

* Hor. l. 1. sat. 5. v. 79.

† De Re Rust. c. 131.

‡ Hist. Nat. l. 15. c. 8.

many fragments of glass, proper only for windows, and some of them even polished like mirror, have been collected by t curious; particularly by my worthy and learned friend Jam Byres, Esq. But glass windows were probably rare: for t ancients, in place of glass, commonly used a transparent stone, *lapis specularis*, which they called *speculum*. Pliny * informs us, that these stones were first dug in Segobriga in Spain, but that they were afterwards got in Cyprus, in Africa, and in Sicily. It was either a talc, or gypsum, or a sort of alabaster. Talc is a concretion of mica attenuated by humidity.† It is found in many parts of the world. But the finest and largest sheets hitherto discovered, are on the banks of the river Witim, in Siberia. It is called Muscovia talc. The Russians generally make use of it in windows in place of glass, and particularly in the windows of their ships; because it is less brittle, and more pliable than glass, and resists better the shock of the rebound of cannon. But if the ancients, according to Pliny, ‡ made their best lime from the *lapis specularis*, it could not be talc, which is not calcinable: it must there-

Lapis specularis.

* Lib. 36. c. 22.

† "Histoire naturelle des Mineraux, par M. de Buffon." Tom. 1. and 4. ed. in 4to.

‡ Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 24, where, treating of lime, he says, "omnium autem optimum fieri compertum est e lapide speculari."

From Martial it appears that the Romans knew the use of hot-houses, to protect their plants from the cold, and which they covered with the lapis specularis:

"Hibernis objecta notis *specularia* puros
Admittunt soles, et sine fæce diem." L. 8. ep. 14.

fore have been gypsum, or a thin pellucid alabaster, which are calcareous substances.

Temples without windows.

Ancient temples, generally small, seem rarely to have had windows. They were lighted either by lamps, or by light admitted from the door. Indeed when the temples were circular, they were sometimes lighted by an opening in the top, as is the *Pantheon* in the *Campus Martius*, and which, no doubt, is the best suited to show to advantage either pictures or statues. The private houses of the Romans had not many or large windows, and which seem to have been placed high above the level of the floor. This appears from bas-relieves, and from paintings in the Vatican Virgil.

Extension of the walls by Aurelian.

It is difficult to trace the various extensions of the walls of *Rome*, under the kings, the consuls, and the emperors. Its last and greatest extension was in the time of Aurelian. He reigned from the year of Christ 270 to the 275. He inclosed the *Campus Martius* within the walls, and considerably added to the extent of the whole city.* This extension of the walls is, nearly, marked by a dotted line on the map of Rome, plate III.

Indeed it appears that Julius Cæsar intended to have added the *Campus Martius* to the city, and to have substituted the *Campus Vaticanus* in its place. For which purpose he was to have caused the bed of the Tyber to have been altered, and its course directed in a straight line by the foot of the *Mons*

* Vopiscus in Vita Aureliani, c. 21. cum notis Salmasii. ed. Hackiani, 1671.

Vaticanus. But his death prevented the execution of this project.*

Extension of the walls by the Popes.

The *Popes* too have enlarged the city, by adding to it the *Mons Vaticanus*, which is known by the name of the *Borgo*, or *Città Leonina*, from Pope *Leo* the IVth, who inclosed it about the year 850. The walls of *Rome* are therefore more extensive at present, than in the time of its ancient splendour. Their circumference, according to Nolli,† is fifteen miles and an half, forty-two cannes, and five palms, Roman measure. Pliny,‡ however, in the time of Titus, and consequently before Aurelian extended the walls, made them thirteen miles and two hundred paces.—"Mœnia ejus collegêre ambitu, imperatoribus censoribusque Vespasianis, anno conditæ 826, pass. XIII. M. CC. complexa montes VII."

Rome after the expulsion of the kings.

Rome, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,§ was, in the forty-seventh year after the expulsion of the kings, about the same extent as *Athens*. A great part of the city was naturally defended by the river, the hills, and rocks. The only part open to an attack was from the Esquiline to the Salarian gates. But this was fortified by a *fossé* of 30 feet deep, and about 100 feet broad: on the inside was a rampart or *agger*, which the *fossé* prevented from being attacked by warlike engines. To the north-east of Dioclesian's baths, vestiges of the

* Cicer. Epist. ad Atticum, l. 13. ep. 33.

† "Pianta di Roma, di Giambattista Nolli."—"Roma del Vasi, l. 1. indice 1."

‡ Nat. Hist. l. 3. c. 5.

§ L. 9. c. 19. sect. 5.

agger of Tarquinius are still to be traced. Pliny,* mentioning this *agger*, says—"clauditur ab oriente aggere Tarquinii superbi, inter prima opere mirabili; namque eum muris æquavit, quà maximè patebat aditu plano; cætero munita erat præcelsis muris, aut abruptis montibus."

If some authors have magnified the extent of ancient *Rome*, they must have been led to do so, by observing its environs so crowded with buildings, and which they considered as part of the city. Indeed the magnificent buildings along the sides of the highways, for a considerable distance, seemed to be a continued city. This continuity of buildings made Dionysius of Halicarnassus† say, that it was difficult to determine the extent of *Rome*. But antiquaries have been chiefly induced to magnify the extent of the walls of Rome, from the evidently incorrect text of Vopiscus.‡

Number of inhabitants.

The numbers of the inhabitants of cities, as well as countries, are commonly exaggerated. This has been particularly the case of *Rome*. Authors seem to have been misled, by considering *Roma* and *urbs* as synonymous. *Roman* was a generical name, given to every one who had a voice in electing magistrates, or in enacting laws, although they did not reside in the city: whereas *urbanus*, or citizen, was properly applied to those only who lived within the walls.|| But from

* Hist. Nat. l. 3. c. 5.

† Lib. 4. c. 4.

‡ In Vita Aureliani, c. 39.

|| Fabrettus de aquis et aquæduct. p. 157, n. 292.—Vide Leg. 2. sect. de verb. signif.—"Urbis appellatio muris, Romæ autem continentibus ædificiis finitur, quod latius patet."

not attending to this distinction, the numbers of the inhabitants of *Rome* have been, perhaps, so exaggerated. Indeed if the inhabitants of the city, suburbs, and *Campagna* are blended together, under the name of *Romans*, they may have amounted to some millions. Although I have not been able to ascertain the number of *citizens*, yet it is evident that *Rome*, at no period, could contain a million of inhabitants. A circuit of fifteen miles and an half, Roman, is too little to lodge such numbers: and the rather that the *Campus Martius*, which was of considerable extent, served only for places of exercise, and some public buildings; and that the *Mons Vaticanus* was without the city; and both are included in this circuit. Besides much ground must have been employed in gardens and pleasure: for Pliny* tells us,—" jam quidem hortorum nomine *in ipsa urbe* delicias, agros, villasque possident."

Walls and gates.

The walls and the gates of the city were deemed sacred.† And to extend its *pomœrium* ‡ was reckoned an act of religion, which could only be done with the consent of the college of *augurs*. Yet whoever extended the limits of the empire, might also extend the walls of the city. " Et *pomœrium* urbis auxit Cæsar, more prisco: quo iis, qui protulere imperium, etiam terminos urbis propagare datur." § The con-

* Hist. Nat. l. 19. c. 4.

† " Sanctæ quoque res veluti muri et portæ civitatis." Just. Instit. l. 2. De Rebus Div

‡ A. Gellius, l. 13. c. 14. The pomœrium seems to have been a consecrated slip of ground on both sides of the walls.

§ Tacit. Ann. l. 12. c. 23.—And Vopiscus, *Vita Aureliani*, c. 21. says, Po

queror, perhaps, claimed this permission, in order to lodge such of the conquered as he brought with him, whose arts and industry might enrich the city.

The antiquaries, and even *Nardini* himself, are not much to be depended on, in their placing the walls and gates of *Rome* before *Aurelian's* days. They have long and learnedly disputed this subject, without settling it. They have never been able to fix, with any kind of certainty, the limits of the *agger* of *Tarquinius*. Indeed the precise site of the gates must have been altered, at each extension of the walls: so that it is now highly difficult to ascertain their exact situations. But could this be done, it would greatly contribute to fix the real situation of many places in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, of which there are now little or no remains; but whose names, and distances from the gates, are often mentioned by ancient writers.

Number of gates.

The number of gates, before *Aurelian* enlarged the city, is uncertain. Pliny * makes them in his time thirty-seven. The critics, however, suppose that there is a mistake in this number. It is not indeed probable that *Aurelian*, when he extended the walls, diminished the number of the gates.

Double gates.

The more frequented roads that led to the city had double gates. That is, one side was allotted for those who entered

mœrio autem nemini principum licet addere nisi ei qui agri barbarici aliqua parte Romanam Remp. locupletaverit."

* Hist. Nat. l. 3. c. 5.

the city, and the other for those who went out. These twin gates were very useful, and often saved time to travellers. When *Pliny* wrote, there seems to have been twelve of them; but which, in numbering the gates, he reckoned as single ones. For what other reasonable interpretation can we give to his words? "ad singulas portas quæ sunt hodie numero XXXVII. ita ut XII. portæ semel numerentur."* Thus the ancient *Carmental gate* was double, and from the right hand side marched out the *Fabii*.—"Infelici via *dextro jano* portæ Carmentalis profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt."†—This *jano* was not the temple of the god *Janus*, but one of the double gates of the city.‡ Hence we learn, that those who went out of the city took the right hand gate. Nardini has given an example of these twin gates in that of the *Porta Portese*, erected by Stilico, in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and removed by Urban the VIIIth in the 1643. Of the same kind is the gate of Verona, known by the name of *Porta de' Borsari*, which has been erroneously taken for a triumphal arch.§

* Hist. Nat. l. 3. c. 5.—This text of Pliny—"ita ut duodecim portæ semel numerentur"—is no doubt obscure, and has perplexed the commentators. It has probably arisen from the carelessness of the transcribers. Pliny perhaps considered the twin gates as two, and that 12 of them were equal to 24 single gates. But if we could suppose the text to have been originally II. (*duæ*) in place of XII. (*duodecim*), and that each two was reckoned as one; in that case there might have been 18 double gates, and a single one, which would complete Pliny's number of thirty-seven.

† Livius, l. 2. c. 49 ‡ Nardini, Roma Antica, l. 1. c. 9.

§ "Verona illustrata" dell' Marchese Scipio Maffei. Part 3. c. 2.—And "Fabriche antiche e moderne di Verona, dell' Valesi," Tab. VI.

At each gate a statue of brass, of some tutelar god, seems to have been placed; whose right hand passengers kissed—"boni ominis causa." None of these now remain. Nor do I remember that this superstitious custom is taken notice of by any author but Lucretius. The philosophic poet, mentioning the imperceptible but real diminution of every thing by use, says that the right hands of these statues were worn, by being frequently kissed:— A statue at each gate.

——"Tum portas propter ahena
Signa manus dextras ostendunt attenuari
Sæpe salutantum tactu, præterque meantum."*

The trouble of guarding so many gates seems to have engaged the Romans of the middle age to have lessened their number. Thus the ancient gates of *Præneste* and *Labicum* were built up in the thirteenth century; and between the two a new gate was formed out of one of the arches of the *castellum* of the Claudian aqueduct. It is called the *Porta Maggiore.* Number of gates lessened.

There are twelve gates in the walls, as extended by Aurelian; some of which, indeed, have been opened, and others of them rebuilt since his time. And there are four gates in the *Città Leonina*, added by the Popes. At present sixteen gates.

* Lucr. l. 1. v. 318. The same cause has produced the same effect in modern Rome. Thus, among other examples, the foot of the elegant marble statue of *Christ*, by Michel' Angelo Buonaroti, at the Minerva, having been defaced, by devotees kissing and rubbing their foreheads on it, was afterwards covered with brass; and which last is now very considerably worn.

After what I have said, perhaps it is unnecessary to observe, that the walls of *Rome* are partly built by *Aurelian*, partly rebuilt by *Belisarius*, on the same foundation, and partly by the *Popes*. But from time to time, the whole have been repaired.

Rome divided into *regiones*.

Rome was early divided into four quarters, or what were called *regiones*. These divisions were useful for regulating its police. But as the city had greatly increased, Augustus judged it necessary to divide it into fourteen *regiones*. Publius Victor and Sextus Rufus have described them; and Panvinius has made some additions.* But as Nardini,† from these authors, and from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, has published lists of them, and the various buildings and places each contained, with further additions of his own, I beg leave to refer to him. Nardini, indeed, has described *Rome* according to these *regiones*. But, as the city has undergone many and great changes, since that division was made by Augustus, I think it is now impossible to trace their contour with any degree of accuracy; nor the streets of ancient Rome, several of whose names are mentioned by the Roman writers. Disputes about jurisdictions, and the police of the city, engaged *Pope Benedict* XIV. to divide modern Rome likewise into fourteen quarters, or what are now called *rioni*. But the contours of these *rioni* are not the same that Augustus gave to his *regiones*.

* "Onuphrii Panvinii reipublicæ Romanæ commentariorum libri tres."

† "Roma Antica."

‡ "Descrizione del nuovo ripartimento de' Rioni di Roma, del Conte Bernardino Bernardini."

To render the survey of *Rome* more clear, and to methodize my remarks, I shall—1st, examine the gates, and the most remarkable antiquities to be seen on the roads which lead from them. I shall, 2dly, enter the city, and examine—the seven hills, and afterwards the plains. To which I shall add, by way of Appendix, some letters and remarks, descriptive of some of the most renowned places and antiquities in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

Arrangement of these remarks.

I begin with the gates.

ANCIENT ROME.

THE GATES AND ENVIRONS.

I. PORTA DEL POPOLO.

WHETHER this gate has been named from the adjacent church of the *Madonna del Popolo*, or the church from the gate, is uncertain. Perhaps they were both thus named from a grove of *poplars*, which the Romans called *populi*. Indeed Pliny* informs us, that different places or quarters of Rome were named from trees, or groves, that grew there. When Aurelian added the *Campus Martius* to the city, it is generally thought that he gave the name of *Flaminia* to this gate, as it stood on the *via Flaminia*. But the ancient *Porta Flaminia*, no doubt, stood much nearer to the *Capitol*. The outside of this gate was built by Vignola, and is an elegant piece of Doric architecture: the inside was ornamented by Bernini, when Christina, Queen of Sweden, A. D. 1655, made her entry into Rome. This access to the city is magnificent.†

This gate leads in a straight line to the *Ponte Mollé*, which is commonly reckoned the *Pons Milvius*, so often mentioned

Ponte Mollé, or Pons Milvius.

* Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 10.

† See Piranesi's large view of it.

1. *Porta del Popolo.*

by the Roman authors. It is near two miles from the gate. It was built by M. Æmilius Scaurus.* It had been often repaired, but always on the old foundations. Lactantius Firmianus† tells us, that it was an ancient custom to throw a man from off this bridge into the Tyber, as a sacrifice to Saturn. It was here that the ambassadors of the Allobroges, in concert with Cicero, were stopped, and their papers seized, which fully discovered Lentulus, and all the persons engaged in Catiline's conspiracy.‡ At this bridge too there were houses, receptacles of nocturnal debauch, to which Nero used to go.§ But Piranesi‖ places the *Pons Milvius* above a mile higher up the river, opposite to the *Tor di Quinto*, and makes the *via Flaminia* to have passed through the *Porta Pinciana*, and from thence, by many turnings, to have reached his *Pons Milvius*. The reasons offered by Piranesi, to support his singular opinion, do not seem satisfactory. The Romans never made their consular roads in winding lines, but in cases of absolute necessity, which cannot be pleaded here. But this question, I think, is decided by Suetonius,¶ who tells us, that Augustus built his mausoleum,—"inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tyberis." Now, had the Flaminian road led to the *Porta Pinciana*,

* Aurel. Victor. de Vir. illustr.

† Lib. 1. c. 21. De falsa religione—"Saturnus in Latio eodem genere sacrificii cultus est: non quidem ut homo ad aram immolaretur; sed uti in Tyberim de *Ponte Milvio* mitteretur."

‡ Sallust. Bel. Catilin. c. 45.

§ "Pons Milvius in eo tempore, celebris nocturnis inlecebris erat; ventitabatque illuc Nero, quò solutius, urbem extra, lasciviret." Tacit. Ann. l 13. c. 47.

‖ Le Ant. Rom. tom. 1. p. 6.

¶ Vita Aug. c. 100.

it must have passed by the south end of the college of the *Propaganda Fidé*, and consequently the mausoleum could with no propriety be said to stand between it and the river; whereas, if this road led to the *Porta del Popolo*, the historian's description answers exactly; for the remains of this monument are yet to be seen, near to the church of St. Roch. 1. *Porta del Popolo.*

A little beyond the bridge the road separates. To the left hand is the *via Cassia*, and to the right is the *via Flaminia*. Three roads led from Rome to Lombardy; the Flaminian along the Adriatic; the Aurelian along the Mediterranean; and the Cassian between these two, through the interior part of the country. Via Cassia. —Flaminia. and —Aurelia.

About three miles from the bridge, on the *via Cassia*, I saw a monument, which is commonly called Nero's sepulchre. But by the inscription, although much defaced, it appears to have been erected to C. Vibius Marianus, and his wife. It is published by Gruter,* who, by mistake, places it two miles from Rome. Monument of C. Vibius Marianus

The siege of *Veii*, the ten years labour of the Romans, is recorded in their annals. It was protracted, perhaps, less by the strength of the place than by the unskilfulness of the besiegers. At last M. Furius Camillus took it by stratagem.† He secretly carried on a mine, which terminated in the citadel, under the temple of Juno, where, by several pits, which he caused to be opened at once, his soldiers entered the city, Veii.

* Page 487. † Livius, l. 5. c. 21.

1. *Porta del Popolo.*

and thereby became masters of it. But where *Veii* stood has been much disputed by the antiquaries. Strange, that the situation of a city, long the rival of Rome, and which has been compared to Athens for extent and riches, should be thus uncertain. A foolish vanity has placed it at *Cività Castellana*, thirty-five miles from Rome, and where they have set up modern inscriptions to assert it. Some, indeed, have placed it at *Castelnuovo*, the second post from Rome on the *via Flaminia*: others near to the *Storta*, about twelve miles from Rome, on the right hand of the *via Cassia*, between *Isola* and the *Cremera*; now called the *Valca*. But Zanchi,* I think, has at last discovered the real situation of *Veii*. He places it in the wood of *Baccano* and *Montelupoli*, eighteen miles from Rome, on the right hand of the *via Cassia*. This is the distance from Rome to *Veii* given by Eutropius,† and which exactly agrees with Peutinger's ‡ accurate Itinerary. Livy too confirms this distance, who makes Appius Claudius, complaining of the slowness of the siege, say—"Nos intra *vicesimum lapidem*, in conspectu prope urbis nostræ, annuam oppugnationem perferre piget." § The advantageous situation for a city, the hills and rocks, the distance from Rome, the *via Cassia*, the nearness of the *Cremera*, sufficiently point out *Veii*. But Zanchi gives us a further confirmation of it. For, besides the remains of ancient walls, and the fields covered with broken bricks, pieces of columns, and fragments of buildings, he has traced here

* See his learned dissertation, entitled, "Il Veio illustrato."—Roma, 1768. 8vo.

† Hist. Rom. l. 1.

‡ Tab. Peutingeriana—ed. Tratteniana, 1753. § Lib. 5. c. 4.

Camillus's celebrated mine or *cuniculus*,* with the different pits, by which the soldiers entered the citadel. Livy,† mentioning this *cuniculus*, tells us—"operum fuit omnium longè maximum ac laboriosissimum." But what greater remains can we expect of a city taken and destroyed 394 years before the birth of Christ? 1. *Porta del Popolo.*

"Et Veii veteres . . . . . :
Nunc intra muros pastoris buccina lenti
Cantat, et in vestris ossibus arva metunt."‡

When we view the small remains of *Veii*, and call to mind the many formerly populous and flourishing cities reduced to ruins, some of whose sites are not now even known, we cannot but admire the philosophical idea which Servius Sulpicius addresses to Cicero,§ to console him for the death of his daughter Tullia.—"Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Ægina, ante Megara, dextra Piræus, sinistra Corinthus: quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent. Cœpi egomet mecum sic cogitare: hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit, aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet; cum uno loco tot oppidorum cadavera projecta jaceant."

The *via Cassia* passed by *Baccano, Sutri, Capranica, Forum*

* See a print of the *cuniculus* in Zanchi's "Veio Illustrato."

† Lib. 5. c. 19. ‡ Proper. l. 4. elegia xi. v. 27.

§ Epist. ad Famil. lib. 4. ep. 5.

1. *Porta del Popolo.* Aquæ Passeris.

Cassii, which is between *S. Maria* and *Vetralla*: and leaving *Viterbo* to the right, it went to *Aquæ Passeris*,

——— "fervidique
Fluctus Passeris,"*

where is to be seen the remains of an ancient bath, now called *Bagno dello Serpe*: from thence it went to *Montefiascone*, and so into Tuscany.

I return back to the *via Flaminia*.

Tor di Quinto.

The *Tor di Quinto*, to the right hand of the road, is supposed by some antiquaries to take its name from L. Quintius Cincinnatus, whose farm they place here. But, from an expression of Livy, I shall afterwards fix it opposite to the *Ripetta*.† Venuti‡ is of opinion, that it is thus named because of its distance from Rome, *ad V. lapidem*. But whether I reckon from the *gate*, or from the *Forum*, I cannot make out that distance.

Battle of Constantine and Maxentius.

The plains along the banks of the Tyber, and towards *Ponte Mollé*, were the field of battle, where Constantine, after having seen the vision of the *cross*,—"In hoc signo vinces,"—as mentioned by the ecclesiastical writers, defeated Maxentius, A. D. 312.

Due Ponti.

A little beyond the *Tor di Quinto*, I crossed two bridges, which,

* Martial, l. 6. ep. 42.

† See *Porta di Castello*.

‡ See his edition of Eschinardi's *Agro Romano*, page 197.

from their nearness to each other, has occasioned this place to be called *Due Ponti*. Under the first bridge runs a rivulet named *Aqua Traversa*, and under the other the *Valca* or *Cremera*, on whose banks, according to Livy,* fell the 306 *Fabii*. The *castellum* built by these generous patriots, to defend the Roman territories against the incursions of the Veientes, seems to have stood on that piece of ground where the torrent, which runs by the *Osteria dell' Fosso*, in the *Isola*, falls into the *Cremera*. It is about half a mile in circuit, defended by a deep fossé, and still called *la piazza d' armé*. By some authors it has been supposed to be Veii.

1. *Porta del Popolo.*

Castellum of the Fabii.

Two miles and a quarter from the *Ponte Mollé*, brought me to the *Nasonian* sepulchre. It is cut out of the rock that overlooks the *via Flaminia*. But as I shall give an account of this curious monument in the Appendix, No. I. I beg leave to refer to it.

Nasonian sepulchre.

Many indeed were the sepulchres erected along the sides of this road, although few vestiges of them are now to be seen. Nor could I discover that of Paris, the celebrated comedian, Egyptian by birth, and freedman of Nero, whose epitaph, wrote by Martial,† is preserved to us in the works of that agreeable poet.

Sepulchre of Paris.

"Quisquis Flaminiam teris, viator,
Noli nobile præterire marmor.

* Lib. 2. c. 50.—See Dion. Hal. l. 9. c. 5.

† Lib. 11. ep. 13.

1. *Porta del Popolo.*

Urbis deliciæ, salesque Nili,
Ars et gratia, lusus et voluptas,
Romani decus, et dolor theatri,
Atque omnes Veneres, Cupidinesque,
Hoc sunt condita, quo Paris, sepulcro."

Grotta Rossa.

About three miles from *Ponte Mollé* is the *Grotta Rossa*, formerly *saxa rubra*, often mentioned by the Roman classics. This continues to be a little dirty inn, as it probably was in the time of Cicero, who in his second Philippic, upbraids Marc Antony for havin gloitered here a whole day, drinking hard.

Ergastulum.

Near to the *Grotta Rossa*, cut out of the rock, are the remains of an *Ergastulum*. These were prisons or dungeons, under ground, where slaves, often in chains, were forced to work; they were common in Italy; and are a lasting proof of the barbarity of those times, when slaves were treated rather like cattle than human creatures.* What a difference between their situation and that of modern servants! The improper use frequently made of these prisons engaged Hadrian to abolish them.† And upon the whole, it is found by experience, that we are cheaper and better served by free servants, hired for a term, than by slaves, bought at a great price, apt to run away, not to mention the risk of their sickness or sudden death.

* "Nec tanquam hominibus quidem, sed tanquam jumentis abutimur." Seneca, epist. 47.

† Vide—"Lex Aquilia, de damno."

At the first post the road divides. On the right hand road, towards the river, Augustus had a villa. It was called *Ad gallinas albas;* because here an eagle let drop a white hen, holding in her bill a laurel branch full of berries, into Livia's bosom, of which Suetonius* and Pliny† have transmitted us an account; and which I shall afterwards have occasion to mention, when I come to the baths of Paulus Æmilius.

1. *Porta del Popolo.* Ad gallinas albas.

Faliscum, the capital of the *Falisci*, stood, according to Strabo,‡ as corrected by Cluverius,§ on the left hand of the Flaminian road, between Rome and Otriculum. It was to the schoolmaster of Faliscum, who conducted the children committed to his care to the Roman camp, that Camillus, upbraiding him for his treachery, said—"Ego Romanis artibus, virtute, opere, armis vincam."‖ Such were the sentiments of that virtuous period of the republic! He ordered the lictors to strip the villain, tie his hands behind him, and then furnish the youths with rods to whip him back again to the city.

Faliscum.

I return to the walls.

About 1800 palms from the *Porta del Popolo*, towards the *Porta Pinciana*, there is a part of the city wall, which, declining from the perpendicular, is called the *muro torto.*¶ It seems to be the remains of some building, which probably Aurelian

Muro torto.

* Vit. Galbæ, c. 1. † Hist Nat. l. 15, c. 30.

‡ Lib. 5. § L. 2. c. 3. ‖ Livius. l. 5. c. 27.

¶ Here are buried impenitent criminals, and licensed prostitutes, who have not renounced their infamous profession.

1. *Porta del Popolo.*

caused to serve for part of the wall, when he extended the city. It is of that kind of construction which the Romans named *opus reticulatum.* Some antiquaries suppose that it was the sepulchre of the Domitian family, where the ashes of Nero were deposited, by his nurses Ecloge and Alexandra, and by his concubine Acte.* Be that as it may, tradition pretends, that this is that very part of the city wall, of which Procopius† gives a miraculous account. He gravely tells us, that Belisarius, when he defended Rome against the Goths, observing that this wall was in a tottering condition, proposed to fortify it; but he was opposed by the citizens, who affirmed that it was unnecessary, because it was guarded and supported by St. Peter. How did they know that the good saint would counteract the general laws, by which God governs the material world, in order to save them the trifling expence of rebuilding it? May we not apply Horace's theatrical rule to such miracles?

"Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus."‡

The Romans, at all times superstitious, had often recourse to miracles. They thought that the protection of their gods, unassisted by man, was a sufficient defence of their city, against hostile attacks. Thus their eloquent, but partial historian says, —"deserta omnia, sine capite, sine viribus, dii præsides ac fortuna urbis tutata est."§

* Suet. Vita Neronis, c. 50.

† Historia Gothica, l. 1.

‡ Ars poetica, v. 191.

§ Livy, l. 3, c. 7.

II. PORTA PINCIANA.

This gate, which stands on the *Mons hortulorum*, is thought to have taken its name from the palace of the Pincian family, which stood near it. And indeed the whole hill is often called *Mons Pincius*.

The road from this gate leads into the *via Salara*.

A little without the gate, to the left hand, is the magnificent *villa Borghese*, so richly ornamented with ancient statues, bas-reliefs and inscriptions, of which Domenico Montelatici* has given a particular description. Villa Borghese.

* "Villa Borghese, fuori di Porta Pinciana." Roma, per Buaghi, 1700. 8vo.

III. PORTA SALARA, OR SALARIA.

The etymology of this name is uncertain. In vain do we often attempt to trace the origin of ancient names. Cicero* justly observes, that by changing a single letter, any word may be derived according to our fancy. Pliny† supposes that this gate was thus named, because by it the Sabines carried their *salt* from Rome. May it not have been named from the *Salii*, the priests of Mars? It is sometimes called *Porta Collina*, from the rising grounds in the neighbourhood: and sometimes the *Quirinal gate*, as it led directly to the *Quirinal hill*. It was likewise called *Agonale*, from the *Agonale games* having been celebrated here, when the *Circus Agonalis* was inundated by the Tyber. But as the city walls have been considerably extended on this side by Aurelian, the *Circus Agonalis*, and the temple of *Venus Erycina*, which stood without the ancient *Porta Salara*, are now within the city, and which I shall mention in my survey of the *Quirinal hill*.

Villa Albani.

A little without the gate, on the right hand, is the elegant modern villa of Cardinal *Alexander Albani*. Surprising are the numbers of ancient monuments of the fine arts collected

* "Quoniam Neptunum à nando appellatum putas, nullum erit nomen, quod non possis una littera explicare, unde ductum sit."—De Natura Deorum, l. 3. c. 24.

† "Magna (sal) apud antiquos auctoritate, sicut apparet ex nomine *Salariæ viæ*, quoniam illâ *salem* in Sabinos portari convenerat." Hist. Nat. l. 31. c. 7.

and preserved here. The statues, busts, bas-relieves, urns, inscriptions, columns, &c. would require volumes to describe them properly. 3. *Porta Salara.*

Licinus, Augustus's barber, erected his sumptuous monument about two miles from this gate, but of which I find no remains. Martial ironically says of him: Sepulchre of Licinus.

———"Hic quoque magnus homo est."*

It was on seeing this sepulchre that Varro, we are told, wrote this spirited distich:

"Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet, ac Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo, credimus esse deos?"

About two miles and a half from the gate, I came to *Ponte Salara.* By the inscription I find that it had been destroyed by Totila, and afterwards repaired by Narses, in the time of Justinian. Ponte Salara.

It was on the other side of this bridge that the Gauls encamped when T. Manlius killed the gigantic Gaul, in single combat, and having taken from him his golden chain, *torquis,* was thence called *Torquatus.*† Thus we find that collars and Single combat of Manlius Torquatus.

* Lib. 2. ep. 32.

† Livius, l. 7. c. 10.—From the eloquent historian it appears, that the Gaul was dressed *versicolori veste*; that is, in the Highland plaid, worn at this day by the Scotch Highlanders; undoubtedly the descendants of the ancient Gauls. Here we observe likewise, that the Romans, sensible of the advantage of the

3. *Porta Salara.*

ribands, decorations and badges of distinction, still so much admired, and eagerly desired, were early used by the Celtic nations.

Hannibal's encampment.

Near to the bridge, on the banks of the Anio, three miles from Rome, I viewed the field where Hannibal encamped.—"Inter hæc Annibal ad Anienem fluvium tria millia passuum ab urbe castra admovit." *—Although there remains no monument of this memorable event, I could not but recall to mind the history of it. The battle of *Cannæ*, where so much Roman blood was spilt, was fought in the third year of the second Punic war. It was in the eighth year of the war that the Carthaginian hero appeared before the walls of Rome. Various were the motives that induced him to make this attempt. Straightened for provisions, and unable to raise the siege of Capua, he thought, by marching his army to Rome, that he

short cut and thrust sword of the Spaniards, had early adopted its form. For the Roman champion was armed *Hispano gladio*, with which he rushed in on his adversary, and stabbed him in the belly: whilst the Gaul, by his nearness to *Manlius*, could make no use of his long sword. This perhaps was the sword still used by our Highlanders, which they call the *Cly-more*.—Polybius, (lib 3. c. 24.) in his account of the battle of Cannæ, says, that the Spaniards and Gauls used shields, but that their swords were very different: those of the first were proper to cut and thrust; whereas those of the latter were only proper to cut, and that at a distance.—The *ingentes gladii* of the Caledonians, mentioned by Tacitus, (Agricolæ Vita, c. 36.) were probably that unwieldy weapon, the two-handed swords, which they used, and of which many are yet preserved. They were generally two inches broad, double-edged, the length of the blade three feet seven inches, the handle one foot two inches, a plain transverse guard one foot; and the weight six pounds and an half.—See Grose "on ancient Armour."

* Livius, l. 26. c. 10.

would have drawn off the Roman army from the siege, in order to have defended their capital: or that his unexpected march might have produced some lucky accident in his favour, by either giving him an opportunity to engage the Roman army with advantage, or by surprising Rome. But how different was the daring conduct of the Romans at this critical conjuncture; far from being intimidated by his approach, they sold, by public auction, the very ground on which he was actually encamped, for its current and full price: they marched out, at an opposite gate, a body of troops to reinforce their legions in Spain: and they presented another formidable army to give him battle. Sensible, therefore, how little reason he had to expect to take Rome, and certain of the loss of men he must have sustained in the action, and which he could not easily recruit, Hannibal prudently retreated; and thus tacitly confessed the invincible courage of the Romans. In his march to Rome, Hannibal came through the country of the Samnites; but in his return he seems to have marched through the country of the Volsci, hoping to have intercepted any forces sent from Capua to the relief of Rome. It was probably in this retreat that he encamped below the summit of *mons Albanus*, on the plain which from him is still called *Hannibal's Camp*. 3. *Porta Salara.*

Going along the *via Salara*, a little more than two miles beyond the bridge, is the *villa Spada*; and a little further on, is *Castel Giubileo*. Between these two places stood *Fidenæ*. Hetruria must not have been limited by the Tyber, since Livy * calls the Fidenates Hetrurians.—"Nam Fidenates Fidenæ.

* Livius, l. 1. c. 15.

3. *Porta Salara.*

quoque Etrusci fuerunt."—Although *Fidenæ* was destroyed by Mamercus Æmilius, about the year of Rome 327, yet in the time of Tiberius it seems to have been in some measure rebuilt, since it had then an amphitheatre, by whose fall, according to Suetonius, * above 20000 persons were killed. Tacitus † indeed says, that as Tiberius discouraged public shows in Rome, one Atilius, the son of a freedman, erected this amphitheatre, not from an ostentation of riches, or to procure the favour of the people, but in hope of gain. For as *Fidenæ* was so near Rome, every one went there to assist at the shows. But as the amphitheatre was insufficiently built of wood, it gave way, and by its fall 50000 persons were either killed or wounded. It was after this melancholy accident, that the senate passed a decree, that no person should exhibit a show of gladiators, unless he was possessed of at least—"quadringentorum millium res" ‡—or to build an amphitheatre, except on a sure foundation.

* Vit. Tiberii, c. 40. † Ann. l. 4. c. 62, 63.

‡ 400000 sestertii. A sestertius, according to Dr. Arbuthnot, was equal to one penny and 3¼ farthings English money.—See Tables of ancient coins.

IV. PORTA PIA.

This gate is so named from *Pius* IV. who caused it to be built from a design of Michael Angelo Buonaroti, in place of the *Porta Nomentana*, which he removed. The most ancient name of this gate was *Figulense*, or *Ficulense*, because it led to *Ficulea*, a place in Sabina; in the same manner as it was afterwards called *Nomentana*, because it led to *Nomentum*.* From the church of *S. Agnese*, a mile from the gate, it is sometimes called *Porta di S. Agnese*.

Church of St. Constanza, improperly taken for a temple of Bacchus.

Almost joining to this church there is an ancient building, commonly named the temple of Bacchus. It does not appear that he had any temple on the *via Nomentana*. What probably led authors to ascribe this building to Bacchus, is the representation of a vintage on its roof, executed in mosaic, and a sarcophagus of porphyry, of an extraordinary size, preserved here, on which there is a bas-relief, likewise representing a vintage. Ficoroni † has published this sarcophagus, which, as well as some of the fine columns in the church of *S. Agnese*, were taken from the *Moles Hadriani*. This building seems to be of the age of Constantine, and perhaps was erected by him, for a sepulchre to his daughter Constanza; and indeed her *acts*, preserved in the library of the *Chiesa Nuova*, afford a sort of proof of it. ‡. It was converted into a

* Cluverius, Ital. Antiq. l. II. p. 660.

† Le Vest. di Roma, l. I. c. 27.

‡ Mabillion, Iter. Ital. p. 82.

4. *Porta Pia.* church, and dedicated to *S. Constanza*, by Alexander IV. Nor need we be surprised to find here a representation of a vintage, since we know that in the age of Constantine, it was not uncommon to mingle heathen with Christian rites. The columns of this church are elegantly grouped: * but it appears evident that they had been taken from other buildings; for their capitals and bases are different, which surely would not have been the case, had they been originally executed to ornament this monument.—Here, and in the adjacent church of *S. Agnese*, are preserved five ancient *candelabra*, of marble, of exquisite workmanship.

An hippodromus. Adjacent to this temple, there is the remain of an oblong building, which Piranesi calls a burying place. Most writers, however, reckon it an *hippodromus*, or a place in which they trained and exercised their horses. It was a sort of small *circus*.

Pons Nomentanus. About a mile from this church is the *Pons Nomentanus*, by corruption now called *Ponte Lamentana*. It had been fortified by Belisarius against the Goths, and afterwards repaired by Narses.

Mons Sacer. On the other side of this bridge, to the right hand, is the *Mons Sacer*, which forms a sort of amphitheatre on the banks of the river. To this the people, oppressed and enslaved by the Patricians, especially on account of their debts, retired, and

* See Piranesi's Plan [Ant. Rom. Tom. 2. tav. 21.] and perspective view of the inside of it. [Large views of Rome.]

fortified themselves; till Menenius Agrippa,* with his prudence and eloquence, conciliated the differences between them and the senate. This secession, A. R. 260, gave *tribunes* to the people: annual magistrates, taken from their own body, to protect them against the usurpations of the nobles, and whose persons were deemed sacred; but whose factious and ambitious conduct hastened, in the sequel, the ruin of the republic. On this classic spot, we were in a manner seized with the true spirit of liberty: a liberty not licentious, but founded in order, and regulated by wise laws. 4. *Porta Pia.*

Lamentana, the ancient *Nomentum*, is about ten miles beyond the bridge. It was built by the old kings of *Alba*, as Servius observes on this line of Virgil:† Nomentum.

"Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam."

Seneca‡ had a villa here, which he calls—"Nomentanum meum." Columella§ mentions the fertility of this villa, and district.—"Nomentana regio, celeberrima fama, illustris, et præcipue quam possidet Seneca, vir excellentis ingenii atque doctrinæ, cujus in prædiis vinearum jugera singula‖ culleos octonos reddidisse, plerumque compertum est." That is, each *jugerum*, on this estate, produced eight *culei* of wine, which make one hundred and sixty *amphoræ*. And indeed Colu-

* See Livy's account of it, l. 2. c. 32.

† Æn. l. 6. v. 773. ‡ Ep. 104. ad Lucilium.

§ Lib. 3. c. 3. Vide Plin. l. 14. c. 4.

‖ According to which, an English acre would yield 29⅓ hogsheads.—See Arbuthnot's Tables of ancient Coins, &c. p. 60.

4. *Porta Pia.*

mella observes, that vineyards, whose produce is less than three *culei* the *jugerum*, are not worth cultivating.

Italian wines, ancient and modern.

Although French wines are now in the highest estimation, for their generous social qualities, the vine was much earlier planted in Italy than in France. It was the love of wine that chiefly enticed the Gauls to invade Italy. The Roman writers, particularly Horace, celebrate the qualities of their wines, as well as the length of time they preserved them. It is no doubt by comparison only that we can properly ascertain the qualities of different wines. It may therefore seem rash, at this distance of time, to contradict the opinions of such respectable authorities. But we know that the wines, whose age they boasted, were inspissated, or reduced to a thickness or consistence by force of heat:

"Aut dulcis musti Vulcano decoquit humorem."*

Such wines might have been long kept, and could not be drank till diluted with warm water: they were sometimes used warm, and sometimes cooled in ice. The Romans seem even to have paid particular attention to the quality of the water they used for that purpose. Thus Horace says, that the *Blandusian fountain* was worthy to dilute the richest wines.—

"Dulci digne mero."†

The *aqua Martia* had been esteemed for this purpose—

"Temperet annosum Martia lympha merum."‡

* Virg. Georg. l. 1. v. 295. † Lib. 3. od. 13.

‡ Tibullus, l. 3. el. 7. v. 26.

But can we suppose that wines in that state could retain the high flavour and flattering taste, which we now justly admire in these of Burgundy and Champaign? The most celebrated Italian wines were the *Falernum*, *Massicum*, *Calenum*, *Albanum*, *Setinum*, and *Surrentinum*. The growths of these places are still known, and though esteemed by the modern Italians, yet how inferior are they to the fine wines of France. Of the *Cæcuba* we can say nothing, since the vines that produced it were become barren when Pliny writ.—"Cæcuba jam non gignuntur." *—We find, towards the end of the republic, and during the empire, when luxury made such progress, that the Romans, sensible of the superior merit and great prices of some of the Greek wines, consumed immense quantities of them.† 4. *Porta Pia.*

At present *Lamentana* is a seat of the Borghese family, where few remains of antiquity are to be seen.

These three gates, *Pinciana*, *Salara*, and *Pia*, lead to the country of the Sabines.

Continuing my route round the walls, I came to the *Castrum Prætorium*, which I shall afterwards examine. I shall only now observe, that, about the middle of the north side of which, there is a gate built up: it is marked B on the Plan of Rome, plate III. A gate built up.

In the middle of the east side of the *Castrum*, I saw another Porta inter aggeres.

* Hist. Nat. l. 23. c. 1 † Ib. l. 14. c. 14.

4. *Porta Pia.* gate which is built up: it is marked C on the same Plan. Some antiquaries reckon that this answered to the *Viminal gate*, before Aurelian extended the walls, and which, as it stood in the middle of the *agger Tarquinii*, was also called *Porta inter aggeres*.

Porta Querquetulana. Anciently the road to *Tibur*, or *Tivoli*, was by the *Viminal gate*. But after Aurelian enlarged the precincts of the city, the road to *Tivoli* was by the *Tiburtine gate*. This seems to be the one built up at the south-west corner of the *Castrum*, marked D on the Plan, plate III. and which some writers call the *Porta Querquetulana*. But this gate having been built up in the middle age, people went, and still continue to go to *Tivoli* by the gate of *St. Laurence*.

V. PORTA DI SAN LORENZO.

This is one of the arches of the *Marcian, Tepulan,* and *Julian* aqueduct, and was called by Aurelian, when he extended the walls, *Porta Collatina.* But when *Collatium,* celebrated for the adventure of *Lucretia,* was either destroyed, or reduced to a small village, it was known by the name of *St. Laurence,* whose church is about a mile without the gate. In my jaunt to *Tivoli,* I have mentioned this church, and the *via Tiburtina.**

Collatium.

Leandro Alberti, Lucio Fauno, and many of the antiquaries, copying one another, give the name of *Collatina* to the *Porta Pinciana.* But this is evidently a mistake; for *Collatium* stood between *Tibur* and *Præneste.* Where it precisely stood, I believe, is uncertain. Ameti† and Fabretti‡ mark *Collatium* in the plain, at a place called *L'osteria dell' Osa,* or *Castrum Osæ.* But had they consulted Virgil,§ they would probably have placed it on the mountains:

" Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces."

Saloné.

About eight miles on the *via Collatina* near to *Saloné,*|| is the source of the *aqua virginis.* Frontinus¶ gives us the original

* See Letter on Tivoli—Appendix, No. II.

† Map of Latium.

‡ De aquis et aquæductibus, sect. 316.

§ Æn. l. 6. v. 774.

|| Saloné was anciently called *Solonus.* This place and water had probably been sacred to the sun, for *sol-on* signifies the sun.

¶ Art. 10. l. 1.

5. *Porta di San Lorenzo.* Aqua Virginis.

of the fountain, and the reason of its name:—"Virgo appellata est, quod quærentibus aquam militibus, puella virguncula venas quasdam monstravit, quas secuti qui foderant, ingentem aquæ modum invenerunt. Ædicula fonti apposita hanc virginem pictura ostendit." It was usual to build *ædiculæ*, or small temples, to the nymphs who presided over fountains. The one here mentioned was probably dedicated to the virgin, who pointed out the fountain to the soldiers, who considered her as a divinity, and placed in it her statue or portrait. This aqueduct, now called *di Trevi*, and whose water is excellent, was brought to Rome by M. Agrippa. It is for it that the magnificent fountain, *fontana di Trevi*, at the foot of the Quirinal hill, which does so much honour to modern Rome, was built by the celebrated architect, Nicolas Salvi. The aqueduct, according to Frontinus, was, by its turnings, near fourteen miles long: by a passage under ground, it was carried eleven miles nine hundred and sixty-five paces; it then emerged, and ran one thousand two hundred and forty paces above ground; afterwards five hundred and forty paces under ground.

VI. PORTA MAGGIORE.

I have already observed * that this gate is formed out of one of the arches of the *castellum* of the Claudian aqueduct. This *castellum* gives us a great idea of the magnificence of the Roman aqueducts.†

Although authors call this gate indiscriminately *Porta Prænestina, Porta Labicana,* and *Porta Esquilina;* yet it seems to be very different from these gates. Aurelian's *Porta Prænestina* stood between those of *St. Laurence* and *Maggiore,* and is perhaps the gate shut up, marked E, on the Plan of Rome, plate III. The *Labicana* seems to have been on the other side of the *Maggiore,* and is marked F, on the same Plan. And the *Esquilina,* which stood behind the *Maggiore,* became useless after Aurelian extended the walls.

Via Prænestina.

Two roads branch off from this gate. The one to the left hand leads to the ancient *via Prænestina,* which is now much broken; and the right-hand road is the *via Labicana.*

Torrioné.

About half a mile from the *Porta Maggiore,* the Irish Dominicans have a vineyard called *Torrioné,* from an ancient great sepulchral monument there to be seen, though much defaced: its form is round. To whom it belonged is not easy to decide,

* Page 29.

† See its elevation and inscription, in Sadeler's *Vestigi di Roma,* No. 23.

6. *Porta Maggiore.*

for there is no inscription fixed on it, nor has tradition preserved its name. I observed, indeed, an inscription placed on the east side of the modern house of this vineyard, which, as it has not been published, so far as I know, I shall here transcribe.

D. M.
M. AVRELIVS . SYNTOMVS . ET
AVRELIA . MARCIANE . ÆDIFICIVM
CVM . CEPOTAFIO . ET . MEMORIAM
A . SOLO . FECERVNT . SIBI . ET . FILIIS
SVIS . AVRELIO . LEONTIO . ET AVRELI
AE . FRVCTOSAE . ET . LIB . LIBER.
POSTERISQVE . EORUM.

Who this M. Aurelius Syntomus was, I cannot discover. Nor is it certain that this inscription, which seems to be of the low empire, belonged to this monument; a monument that must have been erected by a person remarkable either for power or riches. With pleasure I mention this place, since it recalls to my memory the hospitable manner in which I was there entertained by the good and worthy fathers, to whom it belongs.

Temple of Hope.

About three miles from the gate, on the *via Prænestina*, I saw the remains of an ancient building, called, by Ameti,* *Tor Schiava;* and of which Ficoroni† has given a plan and perspective view. He would insinuate, but from no good authority, that this might have been the temple of *Hope*, at

* Map of Latium. † Vest. di Roma, l. 1. c. 26.

which the people sacrificed, before they went to *Præneste** to consult the *Sortes*. 6. *Porta Maggiore.*

To the left hand of the *via Prænestina*, about twelve miles from the gate, is the *lacus Gabinus*, now called *lago di Castiglione*, or *Pantano;* perhaps formerly it was the crater of a volcano. Lacus Gabinus.

A little further on, to the right hand of this road, I observed the ruins of the ancient city of *Gabii*, built by the Alban kings.† Virgil, mentioning the inhabitants of this territory among the auxiliaries of Turnus— Gabii.

——— "Quique arva Gabinæ
Junonis"‡—

shows, that they were dispersed, and had not then built the city of Gabii. From the poet we find that they were under the protection of Juno. It was here that Romulus and Remus were educated.§ It was from the Gabii that the Romans took their short dress, *cinctus Gabinus*,‖ which they used in war, or in travelling, so different from the long flowing *toga*, which they wore in the city. But what remains can we expect to find of a town little inhabited in the time of Horace?¶

"Scis, Lebedos quid sit; Gabiis desertior, atque
Fidenis vicus."

* See my account of Præneste, Appendix, No. IV.
† Virg. Æn. l. 6. v. 773.
‡ Æn. 7. v. 682.
§ Plutarch, Life of Romulus.
‖ Ferrarius de Re Vestiaria.
¶ L. 1. ep. 11.

6. *Porta Maggiore.*

Though Gabii was a deserted village in the time of Horace and Strabo, it must have been soon afterwards inhabited, and ornamented with remarkable villas. This appears from the many valuable statues, busts, inscriptions, &c. lately found here, in an excavation carried on by my celebrated and ingenious friend Gavin Hamilton, Esq. of Murdieston, under the protection of Prince Borghese, proprietor of the ground.

There were two *Gabii*. It is therefore necessary to distinguish this *Gabii* from the other, which was in *Sabina*, about a mile south of the abbacy of *Farfa*. It is now called *Torri*, or *Grotte di Torri*.*

Via Labicana. Mausoleum of Helen.

About a mile and a half from the gate, on the *via Labicana*, are the remains of the mausoleum of Helen, the mother of Constantine. It is now called *Torre Pignettara*. The large porphyry sarcophagus, in which her body was deposited, was carried, by order of Pope Anastasius IV. to the cloister of St. John Lateran. Piranesi has published this sepulchre, and the sarcophagus.†

Cento Celle. College of gladiators.

Four miles from the gate, on the same road, near to the ruins called the *Cento Celle*, stood the college of the *Sylvian-Aurelian* gladiators. It was here that the two inscriptions, preserved at the villa Albani,‡ were found, in the year 1755, and not on the Aventine hill, as mentioned by Venuti, in his

* Vide, "Gabio antica città dj Sabina, &c. discorso di D. Pierluigi Galletti."

† "Le Antichita Rom." Tom. 3. tav. 16, 17, 18, and 19.

‡ See page 44.

dissertation on them.* The first inscription contains the names of thirty-two of the gladiators belonging to this college, with their designations; viz. *Threces, Hoplomachi, Essedari, Retiarii, Murmillones,* &c. By this inscription it appears that the gladiators were formed into societies or communities. These colleges, according to Varro, were composed of persons of the same art or profession. They resembled little republics, and made by-laws for their own regulation. Thus we find, in Grater, decrees—"Collegii Fabrorum et Centonariorum." expressed in the style of a *senatus consultum.* The second inscription contains some flattering Titles to the emperor Commodus, upon renewal of the college; who, from his fondness for these exercises, called himself the *Hercules Romanus.* 6. *Porta Maggiore.*

To the left hand of the *via Labicana,* and under *Monte Falcone,* about thirteen miles and a half from Rome, I saw the *Lacus Regillus,* now a small puddle, but celebrated for the victory obtained here by A. Posthumius over the sons of Tarquin; when Castor and Pollux are fabled to have appeared and fought in the Roman army.† This gave rise to the yearly games instituted to them, and of which Dionysius of Halicarnassus has given us an account.‡ Lacus Regillus.

* "Venuti, Marmora Albano."—See these inscriptions and the remains of the building, as published by Piranesi, Tom. 4. tav. 57.—See also, "Francisci Antonii Vitale, in binas veteres Inscriptiones L. Aurelii Commodi, Dissertatio." Romæ, 1763. 4to.

† "Apud Regillum [lacum] bello Latinorum, cum A. Posthumius dictator cum Octavio Mamilio Tusculano prælio dimicaret, in nostra acie Castor et Pollux ex equis pugnare visi sunt."—Cicero de Nat. Deorum, l. 2. c. 2.—Vide Val. Max. l. 1. c. 8. sect 1.

‡ Lib. 6. c. 2. sect. 21, 22.

6. *Porta Maggiore.* Labicum.

To fix the situation of ancient cities, although long since destroyed, is to enrich geography. *Labicum*, or *Lavicum*, or *Lavicanum*, situated on the *via Labicana*, gave name to that road, as well as to a gate of Rome, now built up.* Virgil names the Labicani, with their painted shields, among the auxiliaries of Turnus:

——————"Et picti scuta Labici."†

This city is often mentioned by the Roman historians. Here Julius Cæsar had a villa, to which he used to retire, and where he wrote his testament:—"Quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Lavicano suo fecerat."‡ It seems, however, to have been destroyed during the civil wars, in the time of Augustus. But afterwards a new town was built near to it, out of its ruins, whose inhabitants were called *Lavicani-Quintanensii*. *Quintinum* was another village on the *via Labicana*, perhaps thus named from its distance from Rome, *ad V. lapidem*; but having been likewise destroyed, its inhabitants had joined those of ancient *Labicum*, and formed a new settlement, denominated by their joint names. This new settlement is probably now called *Lugnano*. Some antiquaries have placed *Labicum* at Colonna, and others at Volmontone. But the diligent Ficoroni§ places it at *Colle delli Quadri*, on the *via Labicana*, about $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the gate. This situation, though high, has a plain on its summit proper for a town. Strabo|| says, that *Labicum*, stood on a height, a little more than 120 stadia

* See page 57.

† Æn. 7. v. 796.

‡ Suetonius, Vita Jul. Cæs. c. 83.

§ "Le Memorie ritrovate nel territorio della prima e seconda città di Labico."

|| Strabo, l. 5.

from Rome. Indeed Ficoroni, who was born at Lugnano, and had property in that neighbourhood, pretends that, about the year 1650, the foundations of the walls and some grottos of *Labicum* were traced at *Colle delli Quadri*; but that most part of the materials had been formerly employed to build Lugnano and Valmontone. 6. *Porta Maggiore.*

Proceeding along the walls, at the church called *S. Croce in Gerusalemme*, I saw the remains of an amphitheatre built up in, and making part of the city walls. It stood, no doubt, without the walls,* before they were extended by Aurelian. It is built of brick, and is of the Corinthian order.* A great part of it had been destroyed by the monks, for the materials to build their convent. Fauno, and some other of the antiquaries, call this the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, which he erected at the desire of Augustus.† But this must be a mistake; for Taurus's amphitheatre, according to Dio Cassius,‡ stood in the *Campus Martius*, and was of marble. Nardini,§ with more probability, calls it the *amphitheatrum castrense.* Here the prætorian guards used to amuse themselves, and practise the gymnastic exercises; exercises which added strength to their bodies, activity to their limbs, and grace to their motions. And such was the avidity the Romans had for these exercises, that it was usual for the soldiers to form temporary amphitheatres, near the stations in the distant provinces. Many vestiges of this kind have been traced in Britain. They were not built of brick or stone, but were Amphitheatrum castrense.

* See a small view of it in Piranesi, Ant. Rom. Tom. 1. tav. 9. fig. 2.

† Sueton. Vit. Aug. c. 28. ‡ Lib. 47. § Roma Ant. l. 4. c. 2.

6. *Porta Maggiore.*

only hollow circular spots dug in the ground, round the top of which the spectators stood, or sat on the declivity, on seats covered with sod:

"In gradibus sedit populus de cespite factis."*

From their form they were named *cavea*, a term often given to amphitheatres in general. But this castrensian amphitheatre, as it belonged to the permanent prætorian camp, had been built in a solid manner, with seats, and all the necessary conveniences.

* Ovid. de Arte Amandi, l. 1. v. 107.

VII. PORTA DI SAN GIOVANNI.

This gate, so called from the neighbouring church of St. John of Lateran, was ornamented by Pope Gregory XIII.; perhaps from the spoils of the gate that stood a little to the right hand of it, now built up, and which is reckoned, by some of the antiquaries, to have been the *Porta Asinaria*, and by others *Celimontana*.

At a little distance without the gate the road separates. The one to the right hand leads to Albano and Marino; and the other to the left hand to Frascati.

Monte del Grano. A sepulchre called that of Alexander Severus, but more probably that of his father, Genesius Marcianus.

About two miles and an half from the gate, on the Frascati road, I saw the *Monte del Grano*. Covered with stones and earth, resembling a hillock, it was thus named, till digging, about the middle of the sixteenth century, it was discovered to be a sepulchral monument.* From Virgil we learn, that it had been an ancient custom, in Latium, to erect sepulchres in form of mounts: thus, in mentioning that of King Dercennus, he says—

——"Fuit ingens monte sub alto
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum
Antiqui Laurentis, opacaque ilice tectum."†

* Vide "Memorie di Flaminio Vacca," sect. 36.

† Æn. 11. v. 849. The *ilex*, or ever-green oak, was planted at sepulchral monuments, having been considered by the ancients as a symbol of melancholy:

7. *Porta di San Giovanni.*

The poet's description is very applicable to the monument in question. The raising mounds, or *tumuli*, of loose stones over the graves of the dead, seems to have been an universal practice among the ancients. These mounds are frequent in Britain, particularly in Scotland, where they are named *cairns*. Passengers thought that they did honour to the dead by adding stones to the *cairn*. Pietro Santi Bartoli* and Piranesi† have given plans and sections of this sepulchre, as well as engravings of the noble sarcophagus found here, and now preserved in the Capitol. From the time of its discovery, this monument has been reckoned to be that of Alexander Severus, and of his mother Julia Mammea. This opinion is founded on

A sarcophagus.

the resemblance that the two statues, which lie on the sarcophagus, have to the medals of that emperor and his mother. Indeed the head and dress of the lady resemble her portrait on her medals; but the man, who seems to be above fifty years of age, and even much older than she is, surely is too old to be her son, who was not twenty-seven when he was murdered in Germany. It is therefore more probably the statue of Genesius Marcianus, the husband of Mammea, and the father of Alexander Severus: and, laying aside the difference of age, we observe a family likeness between the portrait of Alexander Severus, on his medals, and that of his father on

it was therefore consecrated to Pluto, not only on account of the dull colour of its leaves, but because it produced no flowers. Hence Pliny, l. 16, c. 25, says —"Non enim omnes [arbores] florent; et sunt *tristes* quædam, quæque non sentiant gaudia annorum. Nam neque ilex, &c. ullo flore exhilarantur."

* "Gli Antichi Sepulcri," tav. 90, et seq.

† "Le Ant. Rom." Tom. 2. tav. 31, et seq.

this sarcophagus. The mausoleum, therefore, might more properly have been called that of Genesius Marcianus, and of Julia Mammea, than that of the son and mother. Besides, we are uncertain if the ashes of Alexander Severus were deposited here. Ancient monuments, that are not inscribed, may be, and often are, variously explained; this has been particularly the fate of the sarcophagus I am now examining. Indeed it is generally reckoned a barbarism for sculptors or painters to inscribe the names of the personages they introduce in their works. But surely these artists might do so, without disfiguring their compositions, or dishonouring their reputations; and thus, without enigma or conjecture, transmit their real meaning to posterity. Neither need artists be ashamed to inscribe their works, since the great painter Polygnotus did so, as recorded by Pausanias:—"Polygnotus, the son of Thasus of Aglaophon, painted this picture, which represents the taking of Troy."* Many antiquaries think, that the bas-relieves on the front and ends of this sarcophagus represent the peace concluded between Romulus and T. Tatius, after the rape of the Sabine women; and that the back part, which is not so highly finished, exhibits Romulus's triumph over the Cœnini. Pietro Santi Bartoli indeed supposes that the subject engraved on this monument relates to the history of Alexander Severus; but of which I can perceive no traces. However, Venuti† and Winckelmann‡ are of opinion that it represents the council of the Greeks, and the restoration of Chryseis to her father Chryses, the priest of Apollo; and the back part, Priamus

7. *Porta di San Giovanni.*

* Pausanias, l. 10. c. 17. † "Spiegazione de' Bassirilievi," &c.

‡ "Monumenti Antichi inediti," c. 6. p. 166.

7. Porta di San Giovanni.

Barberini vase.

begging the body of Hector from Achilles. If their explanation is approved of, this urn expresses the beginning and the end of the Iliad. In this sarcophagus was found the elegant vase, long preserved in the Barberini palace at Rome, and known by the name of the *Barberini vase*. It came into the hands of Mr. Byres, who disposed of it to Sir William Hamilton, K. B. who sold it to the late Duchess of Portland, and it is now in the possession of the Duke of Portland, from whom it is called the *Portland vase*. It is about ten inches high, and six in diameter in the broadest part. It is one of the most beautiful specimens of Grecian taste, in sculpture, hitherto discovered; and must have been executed when the fine arts were in their highest perfection in that country. It is not of stone, as was long supposed, but of an artificial composition, or what is called a paste vitrified. It is two bodies of paste, or glass of different colours, so closely united together as to make two distinct *strata*, like a cameo *(onyx)*. The upper *stratum*, a beautiful white, serves for the figures, which are in relief; and the under one, a darke blue, forms the ground. It is difficult to conceive how these *strata* of glass could be so firmly joined, as not to break or fly off when the turning-wheel, or grayer was applied to them. Pietro Santi Bartoli,* by whom it was first published, thought that the subject engraved on this vase relates to the birth of Alexander the Great: but I can find no connection between this bas-relief, and the fabulous story of that hero's being the son of Jupiter Hammon. M. d'Hankerville† thinks that it represents the well-know fable of Orpheus's descent

* See "Gli Antichi Sepulcri," plates 94, 95, and 96.

† "Recherches sur les Arts de la Grece," &c. vol. 2. p. 133, et seq.

into Elysium, to recover from thence his beloved Eurydice, so elegantly told by Virgil.* M. von Veltheim † supposes, that the story of Admetus recovering his wife Alcestes from Elysium, is engraved on it. And the learned M. Ennio Quirino Visconti ‡ reckons that it records the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Subjects of the same kind are to be seen on many sarcophagi: they probably all related to the Fables of Elysium, and the state of the dead. But, of the many authors who have mentioned this celebrated vase, I think the philosophic poet, Dr. Darwin, § has given the most probable account of it. He is of opinion that the figures of this funeral urn do not represent the history of any particular family or event; but that they express part of the ceremonies of the Eleusinian mysteries: he therefore divides this vase into two compartments, and reckons that the first is emblematical of *mortal life;* expressed by a dying lady, or Libitina, holding an inverted torch; she sits on ruins, under a tree of deciduous leaf, attended by two persons, who seem to express the terror with which mankind look upon death: and that the second compartment represents *immortal life;* expressed by a *hero* entering the gate of Elysium, conducted by *divine love,* and received by *immortality,* who is to present him to Pluto, the judge of what company he is fit to keep in Elysium,

7. *Porta di San Giovanni.*

"Or bid mortality rejoice or mourn,
O'er the fine forms of Portland's mystic urn."

* Georg. l. 4. † Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1792.
‡ "Il Museo Pio Clementino," Tom 6. p. 71.
§ "Botanic Garden, canto 2. v. 321, and additional notes, note 22, p. 58.

7. *Porta di San Giovanni.*

on the bottom of the vase is the portrait of a woman, holding her finger on her mouth, the emblem of secrecy, and who probably represents a priestess of these mysteries. Perhaps this vase, and the following passage of Horace,* reciprocally explain each other.—

> " Jam te premet nox fabulæque manes,
> Et domus exilis Plutonia."

Frascati.

Frascati, commonly reckoned the same as *Tusculum*, is twelve miles from the gate of St. John. It is the see of one of the six cardinal bishops; and of all the places in the neighbourhood of Rome, it is the most ornamented with magnificent villas, belonging to the great modern Roman families. These beautiful villas, with their gardens and water-works, cannot but attract the curiosity of travellers: but, being foreign to the plan of this work, I shall not attempt to describe them.

The ancient city of *Tusculum* having been barbarously destroyed, by Pope Celestin the IIId, with the consent of the Emperor Henry the VIth, in the year 1191,† the inhabitants, who survived that misfortune, encamped below *Tusculum*, on

* Lib. 1. od. 4. The late Mr. Pichler, the celebrated gem-engraver, struck with the beauty of this vase, moulded it at Rome, before it came into the possession of Sir William Hamilton; and from this perfect mould, or *fac simile*, the ingenious Mr. Tassie, after having taken sixty fine casts in plaster of Paris, prepared with gum, broke the mould. Some of these beautiful casts, I believe, are still to be had at his house, No. 20, Leicester-Fields, London.

† Muratori Annali d'Italia, Tom. 7. part 1. page 95. ed. 8vo.

the skirts of the plain, among the ruins of Lucullus' villa, where they founded the modern city of *Frascati;* which was so named from the Italian word *frasche*, the branches of trees, with which they formed their first huts. 7. *Porta di San Giovanni.*

The people of Latium were always fond to give fabulous accounts of the founders of their ancient cities. Thus *Tusculum* is said to have been founded by Telegonus, the supposed son of Ulysses and Circe, who ignorantly killed his father. Horace,* in an invitation he gave to Mæcenas to sup with him, alludes to this— Tusculum.

> " Ne semper udum Tibur et Æsulæ
> Declive contempleris arvum, et
> Telegoni juga parricidæ."

However this was, *Tusculum* was one of the powerful cities of Latium, which long resisted the Roman arms; but which afterwards became an useful ally to Rome, and produced many great men, who there figured both in peace and war; such as the Fabii, the Catos, &c. It continued long a *municipium*, and was governed by its own laws and magistrates. Its situation was strong, being placed, like many of the old cities of Latium, on the summit of the hill. Its figure and fortifications may be seen on a medal of the Sulpician family, inscribed—TVSCVL— on the reverse of which are the heads of Castor and Pollux.† Many foundations and ruins of this city may yet be traced, from the summit of the hill down to the villa called Rufinella,

* Lib. 3. od. 29. v. 6.

† This medal, from Ursini, is published by Volpius, in his Vetus Latium, Tom. 8. tab. 2. fig. 3.

7. *Porta di San Giovanni.*

which belonged to the Jesuits of the Roman college, who discovered there some mosaic pavements and other antiquities.

L. Lucullus' villa.

The fine air of Tusculum, its beautiful situation, its nearness to Rome, and plenty of water, engaged many of the Romans to build villas in that territory. But the most magnificent, as well as the most extensive, of these villas was that of Lucullus: who, after he retired from public business, and loaded with the riches he acquired in the Mithridatic war, spent much of his time there, in a learned and luxurious manner, as related by his historian Plutarch. Many of the ruins of this vast villa may be traced in and about Frascati, particularly in the modern villa Ludovisi. The extensive and singular ruin there to be seen is generally supposed to have been a part of Lucullus' library and gallery, which was amply furnished with the best books, as well as ornamented with the finest Grecian sculpture and painting; to the use of which he liberally invited the learned and the curious.

Grotto Ferrata, or the Tusculum of Cicero.

Grotto Ferrata, little more than a mile south of Frascati, is an abbey of Basilian monks: but it is remarkable for having been the site where Cicero's Tusculum villa stood. Although there are no remains of it, we cannot, without a certain enthusiasm, approach the spot where this celebrated statesmen, orator, and philosopher composed many of his immortal works. This villa, which seems formerly to have belonged to Sylla, had no doubt been considerable before it was purchased by Cicero, who made many additions to it, particularly a library and gallery, which he called his academy, or *gymnasium*. It was

natural, for a person of Cicero's learning and taste, to collect a curious and extensive library, and to ornament it with statues, and other works of the Grecian artists.—"Sic literis sustentor et recreor: maloque in illa tua sedecula, quam habes sub imagine Aristotelis, sedere, quam in istorum sella curuli."* —For this purpose we find him anxiously addressing himself, in many of his epistles, to his friend Atticus, who chiefly resided at Athens, the seat of the fine Arts, to purchase for him books proper for his library, and statues to ornament his academy.† In this elegant academic retreat, I still, in imagination, see the orator discoursing with the illustrious personages whom he has made the interlocutors in his *Tusculan Questions*, and in his other inimitable philosophic dialogues. Though tradition has placed Cicero's Tusculum villa at Grotta Ferrata, yet father Zuzzeri, perhaps from the vanity to make the Jesuits possess this great man's villa, contends that it was at the villa Rufinella, which I have just mentioned.‡ But Don Cardonus,§ a Basilian monk, has, I think, pretty clearly ascertained that it was at Grotto Ferrata.

7. *Porta di San Giovanni.*

Between the *Porta di San Giovanni* and *Porta Latina*, there is a gate built up, which seems to have corresponded to the ancient *Porta Firentina*, which led to Firentum. It is at this gate that the *aqua Craba*, now called *Marana*, enters Rome.

Porta Firentina.

* Ad Atticum, l. 4. ep. 10.

† "Signa Megarica, et Hermas, de quibus ad me scripsisti, vehementer expecto. Quidquid ejusdem generis habebis, dignum academia tibi quod videbitur, ne dubitaris mittere, et arcæ nostræ confidito. Genus hoc est voluptatis meæ: quæ γυμνασιωδη maxima sunt, ea quæro." Ad Atticum, l. 1. ep. 9.

‡ Page 71.

§ De Tusculano Ciceronis, nunc Crypta-Ferrata.

VIII. PORTA LATINA.

This gate seems to have been built in the low age, with materials taken from other buildings. Some authors, indeed, consider this and the *Porta Firentina* as the same.

As the roads to Marino and Albano, now in repair, are by the gates of St. John and St. Sebastian, the *Porta Latina* serves only for the conveniency of the neighbouring vineyards.

Temple of Female fortune.

About three miles and an half from this gate, and near to where the *via Latina* unites with the modern Albano road, we find the remains of a small square building, published by Ficoroni.* He reckons that this is the temple *fortunæ muliebris*, erected by the senate, in honour of the ladies, on the spot where Veturia and Volumnia, attended by the Roman matrons, overcame by their pathetic eloquence the obstinacy of Coriolanus, and thereby saved their country. Dionysius of Halicarnassus,† and Valerius Maximus,‡ agree in the situation of this temple. The latter, mentioning miraculous events in the Roman history, says—"Fortunæ etiam muliebris simulacrum, quod est *via Latina* ad quartum milliarium, eo tempore cum æde sua consecratum, quo Coriolanum ab excidio urbis maternæ preces repulerunt, non semel, sed bis

* Vest. di Roma, l. 1. c. 24.

† Lib. 8. c. 7.

‡ Lib. 1. c. 8. sect. 4.

locutum constitit, prius his verbis: *rite me matronæ vidistis: riteque dedicastis.*"—If, indeed, the statue, supposed to be Coriolanus caressed by his wife Volumnia, preserved in the villa Borghese, was found here, as mentioned by father Scarfi,* it is not unreasonable to conclude, that this was the temple of *female fortune.* It is built of brick, and ornamented with a pediment and Corinthian pilasters. It must, however, have been rebuilt during the empire, as appears from the taste of architecture. Ficoroni conjectures, that it may have been restored by Faustina the younger, because we see, on the reverse of her silver medals,† a figure of Fortune, with this legend:

8. *Porta Latina.*

FORTVNAE . MVLIEBRI.

It was from the baths of Titus on the Esquiline hill, that Annibal Caracci copied the picture, now much defaced, which is commonly reckoned to represent the story of Coriolanus and his mother, so elegantly related by Livy.‡ It is published in the "Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum," No. 83.—But this picture conveys no just idea of this celebrated history; for the lady seems to be too young to be the mother of this imagined Coriolanus: besides, the scene here represented, passes within a building; whereas the meeting of the Roman hero and his mother was in the open fields

* "Lettera sopra varj antichi monumenti," p. 75.

† See this medal, and Coriolanus and his wife, Vest. di Roma, l. 1. c. 5.

‡ "Ubi ad castra ventum est," &c. l. 2. c. 40.

8. *Porta Latina.* Aqua Santa.

Almost opposite to this temple, on the right hand of the *via Latina*, is the *Aqua Santa*, formerly called *Salutare*. This mineral water is still used by the Romans, as well for drinking as bathing.

IX. PORTA DI S. SEBASTIANO.

It is so named from the church of *S. Sebastian*, which I shall soon visit. As this gate stands on the *via Appia*, it is often, by the antiquaries, called *Capena*. But the ancient *Capena*, before Aurelian extended the walls, stood below the villa Mattei, at the narrow part of the vale, between the Celian and Aventine hills.*

Cicero,† triumphantly returning from exile, writes to Atticus, his friend and confident—"Cum venissem ad portam *Capenam*, gradus *templorum* ab infima plebe completi erant." Of these temples I find no vestiges. Indeed since the extension of the city walls, we must look for their situation within the present gate.

Temple of Mars.

The temple of *Mars* probably stood near to the church of S. S. Nereo and Archelleo.‡ Here the senate gave audience to their enemies' ambassadors, whom, perhaps from jealousy, or want of hospitality, they would not permit to enter the city.

Temple of Honour and Virtue.

M. Marcellus,§ after the Sicilian conquest, intended to have built a temple to Honour and Virtue: but the Roman super-

* Holdsworth's Dissertations, p. 483.

† Ad. Att. l. 4. ep. 1.

‡ Holdsworth, ib. p. 491.

§ Livius, l. 27. c. 25.—Val. Max. l. 1. c. 1. sect. 8.

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

stition would not allow him to lump them together. He therefore erected a temple to each, and placed them in such a manner, that no one could enter the temple of Honour but by that of Virtue. Wise and noble idea, worthy of that great man! These temples perhaps stood opposite to that of Mars, and where now stands the convent of S. S. Domenico and Sisto, belonging to the Irish Dominicans.* They had been repaired by Vespasian, and painted by Cornelius Pinus and Accius Priscus.† I cannot but particularly regret the destruction of these twin temples, not only on account of the ingenuity of the idea, but because, according to Vitruvius,‡ they must have been classed among the finest buildings of the Romans.

Procession of the Roman knights.

From the temple of Honour, the Roman knights annually, on the Ides of July, *i. e.* the 13th of the month, marched in procession to the Capitol, to be reviewed by the censor, seated in his curule-chair. They were mounted on the horses given them by the republic, dressed in their robes of ceremony, with olive crowns on their heads, and such other ornaments in their hands as they had received from their generals, as marks of their military achievements. If, after examination, any knight was found to live a dissipated life, and had so diminished his fortune that he could not support the dignity

* Holdsworth's Dissertations, p. 491. † Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 10.

‡ "Sed etiam a Cajo Mutio, qui magna scientia confisus ædes Honoris et Virtutis Marcellianæ Cellæ, columnarumque et epistyliorum symmetrias legitimis artis institutis perfecit: id vero si marmoreum fuisset, ut haberet, quemadmodum ab arte subtilitatem, sic a magnificentia, et impensis auctoritatem, in primis et summis operibus nominaretur." —Vitruvius, l. 7, in præfat.

of his rank, or had not had sufficient care of his horse, the censor deprived him of it, and degraded him. But if this great magistrate was satisfied with the conduct of the knight, he desired him to march on.* 9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

Since I left Rome a sepulchre of the Cornelian family has been discovered in the year 1780. It stands on the left side of the *via Appia*, without the ancient *Porta Capena*, but within the present gate of S. Sebastian, in a vineyard belonging to Sig. Sassi. The vault of this sepulchre is dug in the *tufo*, like the sand pits or catacombs; in many places plastered over with a hard cement; and the inscriptions, recording the names and honours of this illustrious family, are placed on the sides. The facing of the basement of the monument is of that volcanic stone, which the Romans call *peperino*, with a rustic cornice. The building above the vault seems to have been of a later period, and now serves for the foundation of the small house and offices of the vineyard. The discovery of this sepulchre has thrown some new light on the genealogy and history of the Scipios, as well as on ancient geography. Aided with these inscriptions, and the Roman historians, the learned M. Dutens has given a genealogical tree of the family of the Scipios.† The Pope, Pius VI. I am informed, has caused the sarcophagi and inscriptions to be removed from the vault, where they had remained untouched for so many centuries, to the museum of the Vatican. They are of *peperino*, before the luxury of marble had been introduced at Rome. The most remarkable Cornelian sepulchre.

* Vide, Cujas. Observat. l. 13. c. 29. and l. 21. c. 9.

† "Œuvres Melées de M. L. Dutens."

5. Porta di S.Sebastiano.

of these monuments is that of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, great-grandfather of Asiaticus and Africanus, who had been consul with Cneius Fulvius, in the year of Rome 455, *i. e.* thirty-five years before the first Punic war. It is an elegant piece of Doric architecture, which shows that Grecian taste was then known at Rome: and the inscription on it is the most ancient of any hitherto discovered. It is indeed more ancient than that of Duilius, preserved at the Capitol, who defeated the Carthaginians at sea, in the year 494. It shows the progress that the Latin language made from that period, which was about three hundred years previous to its coming to its perfection in the time of Cicero. The difference of the orthography, as well as the termination of some words, is curious. For example, we read—*Gnaivod* for *Gnæo* or *Cnæo*, *quoius* for *cujus*, *virtutei* for *virtuti*, *parisuma* for *parissima*, *aidilis* for *ædilis*, *quei* for *qui*; the *m* in the accusative of Taurasiam, &c. is omitted. However, these inscriptions, ancient as they are, possess much force of expression and even elegancy. But as they are not, I believe, yet much known, perhaps it will not be disagreeable to the readers of these remarks to examine this ancient specimen of Roman writing; I shall therefore here present them, copied by my learned, accurate, and ingenious friend Colin Morison, Esq. at Rome, who was so obliging as to communicate them to me.

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

Inscriptions found in the Cornelian Sepulchre.

I.

This inscription is upon a sarcophagus of peperino, decorated with Doric ornaments.

CORNELIVS LVCIVS SCIPIO BARBATVS GNAIVOD PATRE
PROGNATVS FORTIS VIR SAPIENS QVE QVOIVS FORMA
VIRTUTEI PARISVMA
FVIT CONSOL CENSOR AIDILIS QVEI FVIT APUD VOS TAVRA
SIA CISAVNA
SAMNIO CEPIT SVBIGIT OMNE LOVCANA OPSIDES
QVE ABDOVCIT.

i. e. Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus Gnæo patre prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque, cujus forma virtute parissima fuit; Consul, Censor, Ædilis qui fuit apud vos: Taurasiam Cisaunam Samnio cœpit: subegit omnem Lucaniam obsidesque abducit.

II.

In red letters, and not engraved on the stone.

L. CORNELIO. L. F. SCIPIO
AIDILES . COSOL . CESOR.

i. e. Lucius Cornelius Lucii Filius Scipio Ædilis Consul Censor.

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.* About the beginning of the last century, another inscription was found in the same place, but engraved on the stone. It is at present in the library of the Barberini family. It was explained by Sirmond, and serves to correct some errors in Pighius and Panvinius. Scipio Maffei, in his *Critica Lapidaria*, had declared it to be spurious.

That of the Barberini is thus—

HONC . OINO . PLOIRVME . CONSENTIONT. . R.
OVONORO . OPTVMO . FVISE . VIRO .
LVCIOM . SCIPIONE . FILIOS . BARBATI .
CONSOL . CENSOR . AIDILIS . HIC . FVIT . A .
HIC . CEPET . CORSICA . ALERIAQVE . VRBE .
DEDET . TEMPESTATEBVS . AEDE . MERETO .

i. e. Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ bonorum optimum fuisse virum Lucium Scipionem filium Barbati, Consul, Censor, Ædilis hic fuit, atque hic cepit Corsicam, Aleriamque urbem; dedit tempestatibus ædem, merito.

III.

AVLLA . CORNELIA . GN. F. HISP.

i. e. Aulla Cornelia Cnæi filia Hispali.

IV.

In red characters engraved.

L. CORNELIVS . CN. F. CN. N. SCIPIO . MAGNA .
SAPIENTIA

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

MVLTASQVE . VIRTVTES . AETATE . QVOM . PARVA
POSIDET . HOC . SAXSVM . QVOI . EI . VITA . DEFECIT
NON
HONOS . HONORE . IS . HIC . SITVS . QVEI . NVNQVAM
VICTVS . EST . VIRTVTEI . ANNOS . GNATVS . XX . IS
L . . . IS . MANDATVS . NE . QVAIRATIS . HONORE
QVEI . MINVS . SIT . MANDATVS.

i. e. Lucius Cornelius Cnei filius Cnei Nepos Scipio magnam sapientiam multasque virtutes ætate cum parva possidet hoc saxum, quo (*i. e.* in quo) ei vita defecit non honos, honore (*i. e.* cum honore) is hic situs, qui numquam victus est virtute, annos natus viginti, is lausis (pro lausibus, *i. e.* exequies) mandatus, ne quæratis honorem qui minus sit mandatus.

V.

L. CORNELI. L. F. P. N.
SCIPIO . QVAIST.
TR. MIL. ANNOS
GNATVS . XXXIII
MORTVOS . PATER
REGEM . ANTIOCO
SVBEGIT.

i. e. Lucius Cornelius Lucii filius, Publii Nepos Scipio, Quæstor Tribunus Militaris, annos natus 33, mortuus pater regem Antiochum subegit.

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

VI.

Engraved in red letters.

C. L. F. L. N.
SCIPIO . ASIAGENVS
COMATUS . ANNORV
GNATVS . XVI.

i. e. Cornelius Lucii filius, Lucii Nepos Scipio, Asiagenus comatus, annorum natus sexdecim.

VII.

QVEI . APICE . INSIGNE . DIALIS . FLAMINIS . GESISTI
MORS . PERFECIT . TVA . VT . ESSENT . OMNIA
BREVIA . HONOS . FAMA . VIRTVSQVE
GLORIA . ATQVE . INGENIVM . QVIBVS . SEI
IN . LONGA . LICVISET . TIBE . VTIER . VITA
FACILE . FACTEIS . SVPERASES . GLORIAM
MAIORVM . QVA . RE . LVBENS . TE . IN . GREMIV
SCIPIO . RECIPIT . TERRA . PVBLI
PROGNATVM . PVBLIO . CORNELI.

i. e. Qui apicem insignem Dialis Flaminis gessisti, mors perfecit tua, ut essent omnia brevia; honos, fama, virtusque, gloria, atque ingenium: quibus si in longa licuisset tibi utier vita, facile factis superasses gloriam majorum. Quare lubens te in gremium Scipio, recipit terra, Publi, Prognatum Publio, Corneli.

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

VIII.

CN. CORNELIVS . CN. F. SCIPIO . HISPANVS
PR. AID. CUR. Q. TR. MIL. II. X. VIR. ST. IVDIX
X. VIR. SACR. FAC.
VIRTVTES . GENERIS . MIEIS . MORIBVS . ACCVMVLAVI
PROGENIEM . GENVI . FACTA . PATRIS . PETIEI
MAIORVM . OPTENVI . LAVDEM . VT . SIBEI . ME . ESSE . CREATVM
LAETENTVR . STIRPEM . NOBILITAVIT . HONOR.

IX.

. . . . IO . TACITO
. . . ANNIS . DVOBVS
. . NSIBVS . X ? DIEBVS
II . HORIS . X . FECIT
LVCRETIA . TACITA
MATER . FILIO . B. M.
ET . SIBI . ET . SVIS . POS.
TERISQVE . EORVM.

X.

. . . . IS
. . . IPIONEM.
. . OAD . VEIXEI.

Arch at the gate of St. Sebastian.

Immediately within the present gate, are the remains of an arch, which is commonly reckoned the triumphal arch, decreed by the senate to Drusus, on the Appian road.* Piranesi,

* Suetonius, Vit. Claud. c. 1

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.* however, makes it one of the arches of the *aqua Antoniniana.** It might, indeed, have been an arch either of the *aqua Martia*, or *aqua Appia*. But at any rate, it has more the appearance of an arch of an aqueduct, than of a triumphal one.

Via Appia. The Romans, early sensible of the advantages arising from an easy and speedy communication with the different parts of their dominions, bestowed much attention on their highways, commonly called their consular or military roads. Particular officers were appointed for making and keeping them in repair. These roads were generally carried on in straight lines; for which purpose mountains were sometimes levelled, vallies filled up, swamps drained, banks raised, and ditches dug against inundations, and bridges built over rivers and hollows. Columns were erected at each mile, to point out the distance from Rome. The *via Appia* takes its name from Appius Claudius Cæcus, who caused it to be made during his censorship, which was from the year 441, to the 445 of Rome. He carried it only to Capua.† It was after the Romans had conquered the Samnites, and became masters of the rest of the country, that they continued on this road from Capua, by Beneventum, to Brundusium, the port from whence they embarked for Greece. And whether we consider the greatness of the *via Appia*, or the many noble buildings, public and private, that ornamented it, no doubt it was the most remarkable of antiquity. "Re-

* Le Antichita Rom. Tom I. tav. 19. fig. 1.

† That the *via Appia* was executed by Appius Claudius Cæcus, appears from many of the Roman writers, as well as from an inscription, published by Gruter, p. 389. No. 4.

gina viarum."* What yet remains is a proof of it.† Horace,‡ in his entertaining journey to Brundusium, mentions, with his usual wit, many of the places on this road; and makes this general remark, 9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

——— "Minus est gravis Appia tardis."

I know that this expression of the poet is always understood to mark the roughness of the road: so that those who travelled slowly were the least jolted. But may I not be permitted to give a more favourable interpretation to it? viz. that the slower the traveller went, he would have the more time to contemplate the beauties of the many magnificent monuments, with which this road was decorated.

How many sepulchral monuments, sacred to the memory of illustrious personages, were erected on this road! Cicero, to fortify the mind against the terrors of death, points out to us several of them.—"An tu egressus porta Capena, cum Colatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulchra vides, miseros putas illos?"§ The very ruins of these monuments show their former magnificence. We have indeed lost the history of many of them; some, however, still retain their former names, which I shall mention in the sequel. Sepulchres.

* P. Papinius Statius, Sylvarum, l. 2. villa Surentina.

† Whoever desires to trace the *via Appia* from Rome to Brundusium, may see—"Histoire des grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain, par Nicolas Bergier," 2 Tom. 4to.—And "La via Appia da Roma a Brindisi, per Francesco Maria Pratilli, Napoli, per Simone." 1745. fol.

‡ Serm. l. 1. sat. 5 § Tusc. 1. c. 7.

6. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

First mile-stone on the via Appia.

The column, preserved at the Capitol, which indicated the first mile from Rome on the *via Appia,* was found at the vineyard of Marquis Nari, about 512 palms from the present gate of St. Sebastian, and consequently a mile from the place where the *porta Capena* stood. From hence the exact situation of that ancient gate may be easily fixed. This column had been erected by Vespasian, and restored by Nerva. It is published by Gruter.* To trace the ancient geography of Italy it is often necessary to know, whether the Romans reckoned their miles from the *golden column* in the *Forum,* or from the different gates. This question has been much disputed by the antiquaries. Indeed, if Vespasian's column stood, as probably it did, at Nari's vineyard, it should of itself decide the controversy. But, I think, it appears evident, from the learned Ravillas' remarks on this subject, † that the miles were reckoned from the gates, and not from the *Forum.* Had it been otherwise, the first mile-stone would often have been within the city gates: with what propriety therefore, could they have used the expression, adopted by all the Roman writers—" I. aburbe lapidem ?"—The *milliarium aureum,* in the *Forum,* had been considered only as a centre, or the *umbilicus urbis,* to which the streets from the different gates led. Or perhaps it served as a register for the distances of all the remarkable towns in Italy from Rome.

* Page 154. No. 6.

† " Dissertazione del. P. Abate Ravillas, sopra la colonna dagli antichi chiamata *milliarium aureum,* nell' gli saggi dell' Accademia di Cortona." Tom. 1. parte 2.

About one-third of a mile from the gate, I saw a small rivulet, now called *Aquatacio*, or *il rio di Appio*. It runs through the valley of *Egeria*, which I shall soon mention, and turning towards the left, it crosses the Appian and Ostian roads, and then loses itself in the Tiber. 9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.* Almo, or Aqua Mercurii.

"Est locus, in Tiberim qua lubricus influit Almo,
Et nomen magno perdit ab amne minor."

This is the *Almo*, or *aqua Mercurii*, with which the Roman shopkeepers blessed their goods:

"Est aqua Mercurii portæ vicina Capenæ;
Si juvat expertis credere, numen habet.
Huc venit incinctus tunicas mercator; et urnâ
Purus suffitâ, quam ferat, haurit aquam."†

This rivulet seems to have been particularly sacred to Cybele, for here the Galli, her priests, not only washed the statue of their goddess yearly, ‡ but likewise purified themselves, and their instruments of sacrifice:

"Et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybellem."§

And the modern Romans, imitating the superstition of their ancestors, used to wash in this rivulet the feet of the statue of

* Ovid. Fast. l. 4. v. 337.

† Ibid. l. 5. v. 673. et seq.

‡ This was done on the 27th of March, [vide Am. Marcellinus, l. 23.] and not on the 1st of April, as mentioned by Rosinus, [Ant. Rom. l. 4. c. 7.] The ceremony, according to St. Augustin, [de Civitate Dei, l. 2. c. 4.] was performed in a manner highly offensive to modesty.

§ Lucan. l. 1.

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

Christ. "Hora ogni anno, il mese di Agosto, lavano in questo ruscello di Appio i piede a la imagine del Salvatore, quando il portano in processione per la città."* But this custom is now abolished.

Sepulchre of Scipio Africanus.

About half a mile from the gate, opposite to the little church, called *Domine quo vadis*, I observed the remains of the sepulchre commonly reckoned that of Scipio Africanus. It is published by Piranesi. † And although stripped of its ornaments, and much ruined, it still discovers its ancient greatness. Three statues, we are told, were placed here; two of which were those of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third that of the poet Q. Ennius. The great Scipio thought it no dishonour to his illustrious family thus to associate with them the best poet of his age.‡ This mark of friendship to an eminent wit, who had been the delight of his society, has not escaped the pen of Ovid:§

"Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,
Contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi."

And Cicero records the same, in his oration for the poet Archia: "Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius: itaque etiam in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus e marmore."‖ Indeed if this mausoleum was erected to Scipio

* Luccio Fauno, delle Ant. di Roma, l. 3. c. 13.—Andrea Fulvio, Ant. di Roma, l. 1. c. 22.

† Ant. Rom. Tom. 2. tav. 27 and 28.

‡ Plin. l. 7. c. 30.

§ De Arte Amandi, l. 3. v. 409.

‖ Cic. pro Archia poeta.

Africanus, it must have been a κενοταφιον, or honorary monument in memory of this great man; for he was buried at his villa of Liternum, in the *Campagna Felix*, where he died in voluntary exile—"Vitam Litérni egit sine desiderio urbis. Morientem rure eo ipso loco sepeliri se jussisse ferunt; monumentumque ibi ædificare, ne funus sibi in ingrata patria fieret."* I cannot but observe that in the sepulchre of the Cornelian family, lately discovered,† no inscriptions have been found there placed, either to Publius Scipio Africanus, or to Lucius Scipio Asiaticus. 9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

Just beyond this monument there is a road goes off from the right hand of the *via Appia;* it is reckoned the *via Ardeatina*, which led to *Ardea.*— Ardea.

——"Et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen:"‡

A few modern huts, where the capital of the Rutuli was, being only to be seen. Indeed we can still trace a considerable extent of *agger* or fortification. Pliny mentions, § with rapture, paintings that existed, in his time, in the temples of Ardea; paintings older than the foundation of Rome: so early had the fine arts been cultivated by the Hetruscans.

A little further on there is another branch goes off from the left hand of the *via Appia*, and which leads to the valley called *Caffarella*, formerly *ad Camœnas:* Fountain of Ægeria.

* Livius, l. 38. c. 53.—Vide c. 56.
† See page 79.
‡ Virg. Æn. 7. v. 412.
§ Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 3.

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

"In vallem Ægeriæ descendimus."*

This is the famous valley of Egeria, where I saw the remains of the fountain sacred to this nymph and the Muses. The situation is very romantic. The *opus reticulatum*, the niches for the statues of the Muses, and the mutilated statue, perhaps of the fountain, still remaining, bespeak its antiquity. Here Numa, the celebrated legislator of Rome, in order to persuade the people of the divinity of his institutions, retired, and pretended to converse with his goddess.—"Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua. Quo quia se persæpe Numa sine arbitris, velut ad congressum Deæ, inferebat, Camœnis eum locum sacravit; quod earum ibi concilia cum conjuge sua Egeria essent."†—Egeria, and her fountain, have not been left unsung by Ovid—

"Defluit incerto lapidosus murmure rivus:
Sæpe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde bibes;
Egeria est, quæ præbet aquas, Dea grata Camœnis:
Illa Numæ conjux conciliumque fuit."‡

In the infancy of civilization, before laws were reduced to a science, the wise legislators of antiquity, to engage the people to submit to their institutions, always held out to them the interposition of some deity. Every legislator had therefore recourse to his Egeria. And without such a pious fraud, how

*Juvenal, sat. 3. v. 17.

† Livius, l. 1. c. 21.—See Holdsworth's Dissertation on the Fountain of Egeria.

‡ Fast. l. 3. v. 273.

could a nation have been induced to embrace the laws given them by a single person?* 9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

On the height above the fountain, there is a church, dedicated to *St. Urbano*, formed out of an ancient temple, and which, from the old name of this place, *ad Camœnas*, may probably have been that of the Muses. From the remains of the building, and fragments of capitals and columns lying here, we may conclude its former beauty. These buildings, indeed, are too elegant for the age of Numa: they must have been rebuilt in much later times. In this church is preserved an altar to Bacchus, which had been dedicated to him by Apronianus, priest and interpreter of his mysteries. It serves for a base to support the bason of holy water. From it, perhaps, some antiquaries have called this the temple of Bacchus. I know that it has been likewise reckoned the temple of Honour and Virtue, vowed by Marcellus, which I have already mentioned.† But I did not find here these twin temples, nor any real indication that this could have been one of them. Besides, Livy‡ places them at or near where I have placed them, viz. immediately without the ancient *porta Capena*, and not at such a distance from it as the valley of Egeria. His words are—"Videbantur enim *ab externis ad portam Capenam* dedicata Temple of the Muses.

* The modern Romans, of a lower class, go annually in great numbers to the valley of Egeria, on the first Sunday of May, where they eat and drink, and crown themselves with garlands of flowers; and thus, dancing and singing to various musical instruments, they return to Rome in the evening like so many Bacchanals. This custom is, no doubt, a remainder of ancient superstition.

† See p. 77.

‡ Livius, l. 25. c. 40.

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

a Marcello templa, propter excellentia ejus generis ornamenta, quorum perexigua pars comparet."

I return back to the *via Appia*.

About a mile from the gate, the new road to Albano goes off from the left of the *via Appia*, and, at the fourth mile, unites with the road from the gate of St. John.

Sepulchre of the liberti, &c. of Livia.

Near to where the Albano road separates from the Appian, viz. a mile and 800 feet from the gate, in the year 1726, was discovered, in the vineyard of Filippo Benci, the sepulchre of the *liberti*, *servi*, &c. of Livia, the wife of Augustus. This monument was soon robbed of its sarcophagi, urns, and ornaments. One hundred and eighty-seven of the inscriptions, containing the names of Livia's servants, are now preserved in the Capitol. They were first published, with plans and views of the sepulchre, by the learned Bianchini, and have been since republished by Piranesi.* Among these inscriptions (Tab. 32.) I find the name of Livia Lalage. May not this be that *Lalage*, whose pleasant humour, and agreeable manner, captivated Horace more than even beauty itself?

"Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem."†

This was not the only monument built for depositing the ashes of Livia's servants. Others have been discovered on the

* Ant. Rom. Tom. 3. tav. 21. to tav. 37, inclusive.

† Lib. 1. od. 22.

via Appia, and elsewhere. The number of the inscriptions, as well as the names of the different offices, cannot but give us an high idea of the magnificence of the imperial court. Indeed we meet with a certain Julia, whose only business was to ornament the empress's ears—"*Julia Liviæ Aug. auriculæ ornatrix.*"* The *liberti*, &c. entered into societies for building these monuments, and deputed one or more of their number to oversee the work. Thus we find that the freedman Lucius, called Alexa, one of the curators deputed by a company to oversee the building of a sepulchre, executed his trust so much to the satisfaction of the company, that they allowed him to choose six places for himself, whilst the others drew lots for theirs.—"Sine sorte primo ab sociis quas vellet ollæ sex datæ sunt."† 9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

The temple of *Redicule* was, according to Pliny,‡ two miles from Rome, to the right hand of the *via Appia*. It could not therefore be that ruin to the left hand of the road, before we arrive at Caracalla's circus; as mentioned by some of the antiquaries. Festus§ gives us the reason why the Romans built this singular temple, but of which I could find no remains.—"*Rediculi* fanum extra portam Capenam fuit, quia accedens ad urbem Hannibal ex eo loco redierit quibusdam perterritus visis." Temple of Redicule.

The church of St. Sebastian is about two miles from the gate. The portico is ornamented with some ancient pillars, Church of St. Sebastian.

* Pignorius, p. 199.
† Fabrettus, Inscrip. p. 449.
‡ Plin. l. 10. c. 43.
§ Festus, v. Rediculi.

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

of which there are vast numbers in and about Rome. The Romans were so fond of columns, that they considered them as articles of luxury; and as such they laid taxes on them, as in Britain they do upon coaches.*

Catacombs.

But here we are particularly to view the *Catacombs*, or subterraneous Rome, where we may wander under ground an incredible distance, among the mansions of the dead. In traversing these dark passages, an association of ideas naturally throws a gloom on the mind of the curious inquirer. We find catacombs in many places round Rome, viz. at the churches of St. Laurence, St. Agnese, &c.; but those of St. Sebastian are commonly visited by strangers. The entry to them is within the church. They are a kind of labyrinths, with many branches running off in different directions, and there are even stories above stories of them. So that without torches and a good guide, it is unsafe to examine them: and it is dangerous to visit them in the summer season, as the cold in these grottos is so much greater than that of the external air. Bosio, Aringhi, and others, have described and published many monuments and inscriptions found in these catacombs. They generally pretend that they were made by the primitive Christians, to which they retired in time of persecution, and where they performed the rites of their religion. To suppose that the persecuted Christians could secretly execute such immense works, in which they might conceal themselves, is absurd. And would they not, in time of persecution, readily search for them in these catacombs, known to all the

* Cæsar. de Bello Civ. l. 3.—Cic. ad Atticum, l. 13. ep. 6.

world? It is therefore, I think, more probable, that they were dug by the ancient Romans, and served for two purposes. First, the earth, *pozzolana*, and materials taken from them, served to carry on their vast buildings, without destroying the surface of the ground. And, secondly, these passages served for burying-places to the ordinary people and slaves, who had not particular sepulchres; especially after the *Campus Esquilinus* was given to Mæcenas.* It is true, as many of the bodies of Christians and martyrs had been likewise buried in these places, it induced Christians to erect altars there, and pay a great devotion to them. The bodies of the dead are deposited along the sides of the catacombs, in rows, piled up, one above another, to a considerable height; and they are shut up with bricks, or slabs of stone or marble. It is from hence that the monks, who have got possession of them, have produced so many holy bodies and relics. For wherever they find a cross cut upon a stone, and, with the body, a glass vial, or lachrymatory vessel,† tinged with a reddish colour,

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

* See *Esquiline-hill.*—These catacombs, or grottos, were by the ancient Romans called *Arenariæ*. Thus Cicero,—"Asinius autem brevi illo tempore quasi in hortulos iret, in *arenarias* quasdam extra portam Exquiliniam perductus, occiditur."—Pro Cluent.

† The learned are divided in their opinions about the use of these glass vials, commonly called lachrymatory vessels. Some of them are of a considerable size, but the smallest of them would be, alas! more than sufficient to contain the tears of the most afflicted friends and relations of the deceased. The real use of these vessels seems to have been to contain perfumes and balsams, which they poured on the funeral piles of the dead, and which they afterwards placed in their sepulchral urns. As some of these drugs were of great value, they were generally put into very small vessels. The various colours, or *iris*, which we

Lachrymatory vessels.

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

which they call blood, though perhaps it is nothing but rust, they conclude the body to be that of a saint or martyr, to which they are at no loss to give a name. Many mistakes of this kind have been discovered; and even Mabillion * detects the story of St. Veronica. Neither does the emblem of the palm, or perhaps the cypress tree, often found on these sepulchral monuments, prove that the dead there buried were Christian martyrs; for these symbols were used by the Heathens and Jews, as well as by the Christians, as appears from inscriptions.† The pope makes presents of these bodies to princes, to ambassadors, and to great personages. The learned and diligent Muratori,‡ who has thrown so much light on the history of the middle age, mentioning the facility with which the people conferred the title of Saint, observes—"Parte la pietà, parte l' interesse entravano a moltiplicare i Santi. Ognun ne voleva; e chi più ne avea, si riputava più felice degli altri."

Temple of Serapis and Isis.

Sextus Ruffus and Publius Victor mention temples erected to Serapis and Isis, in the first region, that is, on the *via Appia;* but of which I find no remains. Near to the church of St. Sebastian was found the square altar, dedicated to Serapis

commonly observe on them, is what happens to bottles, especially when thin, long kept in cellars, or to window-glass exposed to the vapours of putrid animal substances, or to volatile alkali. But it does not appear that the Christians used these rites in their funerals.

* Iter Italicum, p. 86.

† See Muratori—Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane.—Diss. 58. ed. Rom. 1755, 8vo.

‡ Ibid.

now preserved in the Capitol; and which probably had belonged to his temple here. On its front is this inscription: 9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

I. O. M. SOLI. SARAPIDI
SCIPIO . ORPITVS . V. C.
AVGVR
VOTI . COMPOS . REDDITVS.*

Almost opposite to the church of St. Sebastian, between the *via Appia* and the modern road to Albano, there is a *circus*, generally reckoned that of *Caracalla;* though some authors, particularly the learned Fabretti,‡ call it that of Gallienus. The Romans, always fond of shows and games, were singularly attached to those of the circus. Their passion for them was such, that Juvenal says,§ Caracalla's Circus.†

——" Duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et circenses."

Fifteen circuses are supposed to have been in Rome and its environs. Many of them are entirely destroyed, and the others so defaced, that we observe little more than their situation.

* Vide Museo Capitolino, Tom. 4. p. 351.

† This article was communicated by the author to his learned friend the late Father Jacquier, at Rome; who published it, but not so fully, in the *Gazette Littéraire de l'Europe*, Tom. 8. Paris, 1766.—Mention has been made of this article in two notes added to the third edition of "Roma Antica di Famiano Nardini," printed at Rome, 1771, pages 68 and 182.—It is likewise inserted in the article *cirque*, Tom. 2, of the Dictionary of Antiquities, of the new French *Encyclopédie Méthodique.*

‡ De Aquis, &c. p. 166.

§ Juvenal, sat. 10. v. 81.

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

Indeed this of Caracalla is the most entire; and there remains enough of it to give us a distinct idea of them. Here we see the *metæ*, and trace the *spina*, in the middle of which stood the *obelisk*, covered with hieroglyphics, that is now placed on Bernini's elegant fountain in the *piazza Nauona*.* There were rows of seats for the spectators, built along the sides of the circus, and under which were porticos, or galleries, to retire to, in case of rain.† The emperor's seat, or *podium*, seems to have been on the left side of the circus, opposite to the first *meta*. It was from his *podium* that the emperor, or whoever presided at the shows, gave the signal to begin the race, by throwing up a napkin, used for that purpose, called *mappa circensis*. Panvinius, in his learned treatise—*de Ludis Circensibus*,‡ has given a plan and elevation of this circus, and likewise a view of its ruins. It is to be wished, however, that his plan had been a little more exact. He has placed the *spina* in the centre of the circus, that is, equally distant from the seats on each side; whereas it was placed nearer to the left side of the circus than to the right. This was not done by accident, but by design. Because, as the horses and chariots ran first down the right side of the circus, it was necessary, in the beginning of the course, to have a larger space, that they might the easier pass each other:

* See Kircher's Obeliscus Pamphilius.

† Among the ruins I observed many *earthen pots*, employed in the construction of the circus, and which were common in the great buildings of the Romans. The use of these *pots* was founded on mechanical principles. Their spherical form, like arches, diminished the perpendicular weight of the walls, and contributed to strengthen the fabric.

‡ Lib. 1. c. 24.

for by the time they had turned the farthest *meta*, to return towards the *carceres*, from which they started, many of the chariots would be left so far behind, that a less space to run in would suffice. The end of the circus, towards the east, is terminated by a semicircle. But the *meta*, towards the west, is placed at a considerable distance from the *carceres*, that the horses and chariots might all enter the course with equal advantage : 9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

—— " Fraus cursibus omnis abesto."*

It is for this reason that the right side of the circus is longer than the left; and the *carceres* are not placed in a straight line, as in Panvinius's plan, but in the segment of a circle, whose centre is the middle point between the first *meta* and the right side of the circus; as will more distinctly appear from the annexed figure and measures. Hence all the chariots had an equal space to run, which made Ovid † use the expression *æquus carcer:*

" Maxima jam vacuo prætor spectacula circo
Quadrijuges æquo carcere misit equos."

The *spina* was considerably raised above the level of the *arena*, that the chariots might not break in upon the obelisks, altars, statues, &c. that ornamented it. None of these ornaments now remain, but their forms are to be seen on medals, and other ancient monuments.‡

* P. Papinii Statii Thebaidos, l. 6. v. 630. † Amorum, l. 3. eleg. 2. v. 65.
‡ Vide Panvinius de Ludis Circen.

82073

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

"Ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigæ,
Addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens
Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas."*

The *metæ* were a little broader than the *spina*. The address of the charioteer was to turn the *metæ* as near as possible, without endangering his chariot; for, by this means, he shortened his course: Horace † therefore says,—

——— "Metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis."

Victory was pronounced in favour of the charioteer whose chariot first touched a line, marked with white clalk,‡ drawn between the first *meta* and the left side of the *circus*. In allusion to this, Horace § elegantly calls death the line that terminates life:

——"Mors ultima linea rerum est."

The ordinary course was seven rounds of the circus. Along the sides of the *circus*, between the seats and the *arena*, there was a ditch full of water, called the *Euripus*, to prevent the chariots from approaching too near the spectators. The charioteers were generally slaves or strangers: but during the empire, persons of family, even senators, and some emperors, did not blush to perform that mean office. They were divided into companies or factions, and distinguished by the colour of their dress. The green, the red, the blue, and the white

* Virg. Georg. l. 1. v. 512.
† Lib. 1. ode 1.
‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 17. ad fin.
§ Ep. l. 1. ep. 16. ad. fin

27088

factions.* These colours are supposed to have been an emblem of the different seasons of the year, viz. the green represented the spring, the red the summer, the blue autumn, and the white winter. The people attached themselves with such violence to one or other of these factions, that it often produced much disturbance, and even seditions. With what fire does the Mantuan bard describe the chariot races! when we read his verses, we fancy ourselves present in the circus: our eyes are fixed on the race.— 9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

"Nonne vides? cum præcipite certamine campum
Corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
Cum spes arrectæ juvenum, exsultantiaque haurit
Corda pavor pulsans: illi instant verbere torto,
Et proni dant lora: volat vi fervidus axis.
Jamque humiles, jamque elati sublime videntur
Aera per vacuum ferri, atque assurgere in auras.
Nec mora, nec requies: at fulvæ nimbus arenæ
Tollitur: humescunt spumis, flatuque sequentum.
Tantus amor laudum, tantæ est victoria curæ."†

There was a space of about twelve feet between the *metæ* and *spina*. It served for a passage to go up the steps of the latter, and to enter the small cells under the former, where it is

* *Prasina, rubea vel rosea, veneta et alba.*—The charioteers formed societies or colleges, as appears from an inscription published by Spon, [Recherches curieuses d' Antiquité, Diss. 2.] in which we find—*Colleg Aurigariorum. IIII. FACT.*

† Virg. Georg. l. 3. v. 103.

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

thought the altars of *Consus** were concealed. In the great area, between the first *meta* and *carceres*, combats of gladiators and wild beasts were frequently exhibited; and sometimes water was brought in, and those naval fights called *naumachia* were here represented.

Sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella.

A little distance beyond the church of St. Sebastian, we cannot but admire the noble sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella, the daughter of Q. Creticus, and wife of Crassus the triumvir. The inscription, which still remains, leaves no doubt to whom it was erected.

CAECILIAE
Q. CRETICI . F.
METELLAE . CRASSI

This mausoleum gives an high idea of the riches and grandeur of the person here interred. The lower part of it is square, and the upper part round. The walls are of a vast thickness, and incrusted with Tiburtine-stones of an immense size. An elegant frieze of marble runs round the whole, ornamented with rams' heads, joined together with festoons, above which are *pateræ* and other decorations. The beautiful sarcophagus, in which lay the body of Cæcilia, now stands in the court of the Farnese palace. Untouched by barbarous hands, this sepulchre would have lasted whilst the earth remained; but in the low age, during the civil wars of the Roman barons, it

* This *Consus* seems to mean the god of counsel: hence the Romans called a consultation *consilium*, and their chief magistrates *consules*, or counsellors. They therefore hid this altar under ground, because all counsels ought to be kept secret.—Plutarch's Life of Romulus.

was converted into a castle, and they built a parapet and port holes round its top. This seems to have been done by the Gætani family, for we find their arms on the gate of a considerable fortification which remains here. Above these arms there is carved a bull's head, from which this place, probably, is now called *Capo di Bové*. Piranesi * has not only published plates of this sepulchre, but has described the method by which the huge stones and marbles used in this building might have been raised.

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

Capo di Bové.

Three miles from the ancient *porta Capena*, stood the *Triopium*, τριοπιον, of Herodes Atticus—"Vir et græca facundia et consulari honore præditus."† But no part of this monument remains. The τριοπιον seems to have been a temple where festivals were celebrated to Apollo Triopius. The victors, in the games called τριοπια, received tripods of brass, which they consecrated to this deity. Here were found the two Greek inscriptions, put up in honour of Herodes and his wife Regilla, which are to be seen at the Villa Borghese; as well as the two pillars that formerly lay at the Farnese palace, known by the name of the *Columnæ Farneseanæ;* but which the King of Naples has caused to be removed to his museum at Portici. In the inscriptions on these columns the learned Herodes has preserved, with great accuracy, the form of the most ancient Greek characters to be found in his time. Mr. Russel ‡ has

Triopium of Herodes Atticus.

* Ant. Rom. Tom. 3. tav. 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, and 54.

† A. Gellii Noct. Att. l. 1. c. 2.

‡ Russel's Letters, Vol. 1. let. 22. and Vol. 2. let. 51.—See also Mémoire sur la Vie de Atticus, par M. Burigny, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. Tom. 51. in 12mo.

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

exactly copied and engraved them: his plates may be looked upon as *fac similes:* and my late very learned and worthy friend the Rev. Dr. Wagstaff has accompanied these engravings with some observations. They are the right-handed characters; that is, wrote from the right to the left hand. Though executed about the middle of the second century of the Christian age, these characters are the same as those employed in Greece 700 years prior to that time. They have indeed been called *Ionic;* but they seem to be the same characters anciently used by the Pelasgians, the Athenians, and Greeks in general. Herodes pretended to be descended from Hersée, one of the daughters of Cecrops, first king of Athens, who lived before Cadmus came into Greece. He therefore used these characters to show the antiquity of his family, as well as the country from whence he came; for which reason he was named Atticus.

The public Ustrina.

About two miles from the *Capo di Bové*, I saw a vast field of ruins. The country people call this place *Roma vecchia.** The names of these monuments have perished with the dead buried in them. Among these ruins, indeed, I observed, on the right hand of the road, a large oblong building, commonly reckoned the great public *Ustrina*, where the bodies of the dead were burnt. For, by the laws of the XII. Tables, it was unlawful to burn them within the city. It was only the bodies of the

* Besides this field thus named, there is another known, by the country people, by the same appellation. It lies on the right hand of the *via Prenestina*, a little beyond the third mile from the *porta Maggiore*. It was in this last that several ancient busts were found, in an excavation carried on by order of Pope Pius VI. and which are now preserved in the *Museo Pio Clementino*.

emperors, and personages of singular merit, which were permitted to be burnt in the *Campus Martius*. Some particular persons, however, had places joining to their sepulchres for that purpose; they were named *busta*. The walls of this building had been very high, and composed of large square stones. The several ruins joining to it served, perhaps, for lodging the persons employed in this mournful office.* Virgil,† in the funeral of Misenus, has described the whole ceremony of burning the dead. From him we learn, that it was the duty of the nearest relation to set fire to the pile; but, to show his reluctancy, he turned aside his face in the act of doing so:— 9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

"Triste ministerium, et subjectam more parentum
Aversi tenuere facem."

To prevent the ashes from being scattered by the wind, or mixing with the wood or earth, the bodies were wrapped up in a cloth, made from a stone called *amiantus*, or *linum vivum*, and on which the fire had no influence. This stone is likewise named *asbestos*. ‡ One of these funeral cloths is preserved in the Vatican library. It is nine palms, Roman measure, long, and seven palms broad. Pliny, § enumerating the various kinds Amiantus, asbestos, or linum vivum.

* See the remains of the *Ustrina*, published by Piranesi, Ant. Rom. Tom. 3. tav. 3, 4, 5, and 6.

† Æn. 6. v. 223.

‡ Although these stones are of the same kind, yet my learned and sagacious friend M. D'Aubenton distinguishes them thus: in filaments soft and flexible he calls them *amiantus*, and in filaments hard and not flexible he calls them *asbestos*. The stones called *mountain cork*, and *mountain leather* seem to be of the same nature.—See Tableau Méthodique des Minéraux, page 10.

§ Hist. Nat. l. 19. c. 1.

6. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

of lint known in his time, mentions the *linum vivum*. He says that it grew in the deserts, inhabited by serpents, and in those parts of India where it never rains; and that the burning heat of the sun accustomed it to resist the fire. Though the celebrated naturalist gives us this fabulous account of the *amiantus*, yet he has preserved to us facts of which he could not be ignorant. He informs us, that he had seen table-cloths made of it, which, after having been soiled, were thrown into the fire, and taken out unconsumed, and cleaner than if washed with water. He tells us, that they made cloths of it for the funerals of kings, to prevent their ashes from mixing with the materials with which their bodies were burnt; and that it was so rare, that its value was equal to that of the finest pearls. Hence we may justly conclude, that its use in funerals was not then general, but confined to the rich only. And, indeed, among the numerous sepulchral monuments opened in and about Rome, this cloth preserved in the Vatican library, seems to be the only entire one hitherto found. I saw the experiment made on it, viz. after having rubbed the cloth over with wax, they held a lighted torch under it, and when the inflammable matter was entirely consumed, the cloth was clean and unhurt. It is certain that the *amiantus*, of which there are different kinds, though very refractory, will vitrify by the heat of a violent chemical furnace, or in the focus of a good burning-glass, without any additional matter. But it resists the heat of a funeral pile; nor does the ashes of the wood serve for a dissolvent to it. At present we know that the *amiantus* is a stone or mineral, consisting of threads or filaments, which may be separated from each other, and by art spun and wove into

cloth. Ciampini* and Mahudel† have published methods by which it may be done. The *amiantus*, rare, and only found in the East when Pliny wrote, is now got in many parts of Europe. It is commonly found on the sides, or at the foot of hills, composed of vitrifiable stones. In the Pyrenees they make garters, belts, purses, and other small works of it: though coarse, they are soft and silky. It is of different colours, white, grey, greenish, and reddish. Its filaments have almost the lustre of silk: some of them are fourteen inches long, and so small, that M. D'Aubenton found some, whose diameters were the 2000th part of a line. The naturalists differ about the nature of this stone. It has been ascribed, in whole or in part, to calcareous earth, to gypsum, or to clay. Some have made it a sort of iron decomposed by fire, a mixture of iron and quartz. Others have advanced that it is of a vegetable nature.‡ It has likewise been considered as a decomposition of steatite, or of those stones called magnesiene.§ But my late illustrious friend, M. le Comte de Buffon, that

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

* De incombustibili lino, sive lapide amianto. Roma, 1748, fol.

† Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscrip. Vol. 6. p. 409. ed. 12mo.

‡ Indeed such is its resemblance to wood, that, we are told, monks used to impose on the credulity of their devotees, by giving them small bits of it, as relics of the holy cross; and, to prove their assertion, showed them that the fire had no influence on this sacred matter. See Mahudel, ut supra, p. 414.—See also Muratori—Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane. Diss. 58. ed Rom. 1755, 8vo.

§ The chemical analysis which Bergman made of the *amiantus* of Tarentum, renders, however, this opinion probable. He found in a quintal—6 of earth vitriolized—$6\frac{3}{100}$ of lime—$18\frac{6}{100}$ of magnesia—$3\frac{3}{100}$ of clay—64 of vitrifiable earth—and $1\frac{2}{100}$ of calx of iron.—See Bergman's Manuel de Minéralogiste, traduit et augmenté par M. Mongez le jeune. p. 117 and 118.

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

sublime and eloquent philosopher, to whom Nature seems to have revealed all her secrets, was pleased to assure me, that the *amiantus* is a stalactite, or decomposition of mica and talc.* Talc is a decomposition of mica, and as the former is softer and more attenuated than the latter, we may conclude that more talc enters into the composition of the *amiantus*, than into that of the *asbestos*. They are both composed of filaments, either longitudinal, as in the *amiantus*, or oblique and converging, as in the *asbestos*.

The singularity of this stone, I hope, will apologize for the length of this article.

Combat of the Horatii and Curiatii.

The celebrated combat between the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, which decided the fate of *Alba*, was near the *Fossæ Cluiliæ*, five miles from Rome, on the *via Appia*. The place was called *Horatiorum campus sacer*.† It is now called *Casale Rotondo*. Each of the five champions was buried where he fell, and a monument was erected for him; but of these I found no vestige. It was at the *porta Capena* that the victorious Horace met his sister, bewailing the death of one of the *Curiatii*, to whom she was betrothed, and killed her.—"Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum, *inquit*, oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriæ. Sic eat, quæcumque Romana lugebit hostem."‡ Barbarous action!—but in the infancy of

* See Histoire Naturelle des Minéraux, Vol. 4. in 4to.—M. de Buffon communicated to me his opinion of this stone, before he published this part of his work.

† Martial, l. 8. ep. 47.

‡ Liv. l. 1. c. 25 and 26.

Rome, a savage enthusiasm for the grandeur of the state often divested its citizens of the strong ties, and gentle feelings of nature. 9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

I do not pretend that all the wonderful events we meet with in the Roman history are fabulous: but there is reason to believe that some of them were stole by the Romans from the Grecians, in order to add more lustre to their ancestors. Thus we find the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii related, under different names, but with the same circumstances, by Democrates.* The action of Mutius Scævola is given to Agesilaus, brother to Themistocles, by Agatharsides of Samos.† And Curtius precipitating himself into the gulf is ascribed, by Callisthenes, to a son of king Midas.‡

From the *Capo di Bové* to the *Frattocchie*, a villa belonging to the Constable Colonna, three miles from Albano, the *via Appia* was so broken that it was quite impassable for carriages. If repaired it will abridge the road to Albano, for it runs in a straight line.

About the *Frattocchie* stood the *Sacrarium* of the *Dea Bona*,§ before which Clodius received from Milo his mortal wound. Asconius,‖ the ancient commentator of Cicero, says, that Clodius, being wounded, was carried into a tavern at the *Bovillæ*. Frattocchie. Sacrarium of the Dea Bona.

* Apud Stobæum, Serm. 157. † Ibid. Serm. 48. ‡ Ibid.

§ The *Dea Bona*, according to Macrobius [l. 1. c. 12.] was the same as *Terra*.

‖ Q. Asconius Pedianus, in Orat. Cic. pro A. Milone.

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

This must therefore have been near to the *Frattocchie*, and not above a mile north-east from it, as placed by Ameti in his map of Latium. But the Bovillæ, according to the ancient Itinerarium, stood ten miles from Rome, on the *via Appia*, which answers to the *Frattocchie*.

Bovillæ.

Sacrarium of the Julian family.

At the *Bovillæ* stood the *Sacrarium* of the Julian family, but of which I observed no ruins. When the dead body of Augustus was carried from *Nola*, where he died, to Rome to be interred, it was, by the way, deposited in this family monument.* Here Tiberius placed a statue of Augustus;† and here Nero caused shows to be exhibited, on Poppæa's being delivered of a daughter.‡ Among many curious things dug up in this neighbourhood is the celebrated bas-relief representing the deification of Homer, executed by Archelaus of Priene, the son of Apolonius, and which is to be seen in the Colonna palace at Rome.§ And the table, now preserved in the Capitol, containing a representation of the Iliad, was likewise found here.‖ Perhaps these two singular Homeric mo-

Deification of Homer.

The Iliad.

* Suet. V. Aug. c. 100.

† Tacit. Ann. l. 2. c. 41.

‡ Tacit. Ann. l. 15. c. 23.

§ This bas-relief has been often published. It has employed the pens of many learned antiquaries, who have given very different explanations of it: viz. Kircher, Falconieri, Spanheimius, Cuper, Gronovius, Weststain, Fabretti, Schott, Winkelmann, and Visconti. But the most satisfactory account I have seen of it is that lately given by M. D'Hankerville, in his learned work intitled Recherches sur l'Origine, l'Esprit, et les Progrès des Arts de la Grece, &c. Tom. 2. p. 291, et seq.

‖ Vide Fabretti de Columna Trajani, p. 315, and Museo Capitolino, Vol. 4, p. 363.

numents were placed in the *Sacrarium* of the Julian family, as marks of their supposed Trojan descent.* 9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

Although there are no remains of the *Bovillæ*, it had formerly been a considerable place. It was a *municipium*, and had a theatre and school of comedians, whose names are preserved in an inscription, found here, and now to be seen in the Colonna palace at Marino. I cannot but observe that the actors, *histriones*, of regular tragedy and comedy, were always respected by the ancient Romans. Indeed Cicero's friendship for Roscius is a proof of the estimation in which a good actor was held.† On the contrary the *mimi* and *pantomimi* were held in contempt, on account of their often indecent representations. But even these last came to be honoured in the licentious times of the empire; and some of them were promoted to dignities, as appears from inscriptions.‡ Thus we find the Archimimus Lucius Acilius, of the Pontine tribe, a priest of Apollo, decorated with the office of *Decurio*, a magistrate, of Bovillæ.§ A school of comedians.

Near to the Frattocchie was discovered, in the year 1758, among the ruins of an ancient villa, an *hypocaustum*, for An hypocaustum.

* Origo Juliæ gentis Æneas, &c. Tacitus, An. l. 4. c. 9.

† "Quis nostrum animo tam agresti ac duro fuit, ut pro Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse."—Pro Archia poeta.

‡ Vide Ficoroni, nel libro delle maschere sceniche, c. 5.—Gori, Inscrizione dell' Etruria, Tom. 2. p. 176.—Gruter, p. 330. No. 3.—p. 331.—p. 363.

§ Vide Gruter, p. 1089. No. 6.—He has likewise there published the list of this school of comedians.

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

heating an apartment, of which Piranesi * has published a plate.

Between the Frattocchie and Albano, many parts of the *via Appia* are very entire.†

In the Appendix, No. V. I shall give an account of Albano, and its environs.

Having thus far strolled along the *via Appia*, let me now return back to the walls of Rome.

A gate built up.

Near to the gate of St. Sebastian there was another gate, but which is now built up. It is marked G on the Plan of Rome, plate III.

Another gate built up.

A little farther on, I observed a gate, also built up, which seems to have belonged to some ancient building, because it is rather too low to have served for a gate to the city. It is marked H on the same Plan. But if this was a gate of the city, it will, I believe, answer to the *via Laurentina*, which lay between the *Ardeatina* and *Ostiense*. Pliny the younger‡ tells us, that he could go to his *villa Laurentina*, seventeen miles from Rome, either by the Laurentine or Ostian roads.—"Aditur non una via; nam et Laurentina et Ostiensis eodem ferunt, sed Laurentina a quarto decimo lapide, Ostiensis ab undecimo relinquenda est. In the villa Sacchetti, towards

Pliny's villa Laurentina.

* Antichita d'Albano, Tab. 26. † See Piranesi, ib. p. 25, and Tab. 25.

‡ Lib. 2. epist. 17.

Ostia, I saw some of the foundations of Pliny's villa, of which he has left us so elegant and particular a description.* Although he says that this villa was commodious and not splendid—"villa usibus capax, non sumptuosa tutela"—yet, from his own account, it appears to have been magnificent: but perhaps he considered it as small, compared with the extensive villas of the then luxurious Romans. It was intended for his winter retreat, for the coast was mild, and an agreeable situation for that season. He informs us, that his *triclinium* was washed by the sea, when the wind blew from the south;—"mox triclinium satis pulchrum, quod in littus excurrit, ac si quando Africo mare impulsum est, fractis jam et novissimis fluctibus leviter alluitur."—But the land has gained so much from the water on this part of the coast since Pliny's time, that these ruins are now a considerable distance from the sea. The south wind beating violently on the coast has forced up much sand, and the great inundations of the Tiber, whose

9. *Porta di S. Sebastiano.*

* See—the Villas of the Ancients illustrated, by Robert Castell: in which is an ingenious but imaginary plan of Pliny's villa. Indeed a plan and elevation of a building cannot be exactly made out from description only.

M. Felibien des Avaux, from Pliny's description, has likewise given ideal plans of his villas of Laurentinum and Tuscum.

Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius, ancient writers on husbandry, have mentioned the principal parts of the Roman farm-houses. But the descriptions that Pliny the younger gives of his villas of Laurentinum and Tuscum (lib. 5. ep. 6.) are the only detailed accounts preserved to us of the country seats of the Romans. Laurentinum, washed by the Mediterranean, was for his winter, and Tuscum for his summer residence. This last was in Tuscany, at the foot of the Apennines, near a town called *Tifernum Tiberinum*, about 150 miles from Rome, and the Tiber ran through his estate. Laurentinum, so near Rome, and where his property was not extensive, may be considered as his *villa suburbana*, while Tuscum, where he had a large estate, was his family seat.

9. *Porta di S.Sebastiano.*

waters spread far, and deposit much earth and mud, are the apparent causes which in length of time, have produced this effect. Inundations of rivers, earthquakes, and volcanic irruptions have, no doubt, produced great alterations on the face of our globe; and which, by these means, is perpetually decomposing and recomposing.

Laurentum.

Laurentum, the capital of the ancient kings of Latium, is reckoned to have stood near to *Torré Paterno*.

Lavinium.

Lavinium, built by Æneas, and so named from his wife Lavinia, probably stood where we now find Pratica: but when *Laurentum* was destroyed, its inhabitants joined those of *Lavinium*, and formed one city; they were called *Laurentes Lavinates*. Virgil, when he conducts Æneas to this coast, gives it the name of Lavinia—

——" Laviniaque venit
Litora."*

Numicus.

To the west of Pratica, I observed a rivulet, which is commonly supposed to be the *Numicus*, in which Anna Perenna was drowned:

" Corniger hanc cupidis rapuisse Numicius undis
Creditur, et stagnis occuluisse suis."†

Here, too, Æneas is said to have perished: but, had this rivulet been as inconsiderable formerly as at present, it would have required art to have drowned any one in it. Virgil, however, mentions the Numicus, in his description of this part of the country, where he lands his hero:

——" Hæc fontis stagna Numici."‡

* Æn. l. 7. v. 2 † Ovid Fast. l. 3. v. 647. ‡ Æn. l. 7. v. 150.

X. PORTA DI S. PAOLO.

This gate, called *Ostiense* by Aurelian, is now known by the name of the Apostle of the Gentiles, whose church stands about a mile from it, on the *Ostia* road. Before Aurelian enlarged the city, the gate on the *via Ostiense* was called *porta Trigemina*, and probably stood between the Aventine hill and the river, a little below the *priorata di Malta*. For *monte Testaccio*, which I shall afterwards examine, stood without the city.

Cestius's pyramid.

Almost joining to the gate, there is an elegant pyramid, which is built up in, and serves for part of the city wall. It had certainly stood without the city, before Aurelian extended the walls. This is the only pyramid remaining about Rome: but which conveys to us, though in miniature, an idea of those in Egypt!* It was built to perpetuate the name of C. Cestius, one of the *septemvir Epulonum*. But who this Cestius was, other than the title given him on this monument, is uncertain. The *Epulones* were a college of priests, of great dignity, who prepared these feasts to the gods, called *Lectisternia*, where their statues, laid on rich beds, were placed at table as the principal guests. One of those beds, of bronze curiously wrought, has been found in Herculaneum. These sumptuous entertainments were devoured by the seven noble gormandizing priests. It was to appease the gods, in time of a

* Pliny, mentioning the pyramids of Egypt, justly calls them—"regum pecuniæ otiosa ac stulta ostentatio."—Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 12.

10. *Porta di S. Paolo.*

plague, that the Romans first instituted these feasts, in the year of Rome 356.* As the ground about the pyramid is much raised, we have not so advantageous a sight of it as formerly. It is $164\frac{2}{3}$ palms high, all incrusted with white marble, and rests on a base of Tiburtine stones, whose height is $3\frac{3}{4}$ palms. The breadth of the square on which it stands, is 130 palms. Agreeable to the testament of Cestius, this vast monument was built in 330 days. The sepulchral chamber had been finely painted: it is now much defaced; more perhaps from the smoke of the torches used in showing it, than from the humidity of the place. These figures and ornaments seem all to relate to the sacred ceremonies of the *Epulones*. The monument was judiciously repaired, without altering its form, by Pope Alexander VII. The workmen employed to do so discovered at each of its angles, which faced the *via Ostiensis*, a marble pedestal, on one of which was found a brazen foot: a proof that there were formerly statues on them. It is probable that they represented Cestius himself. These pedestals, removed from hence, are now preserved in the Capitol. the names of Cestius's heirs are engraved on them: and the same inscription is repeated on each of these bases. Nor can the meaning of the inscription be made out, unless we suppose the letters S. F. C. viz. *statuam faciundam curaverunt*, or some such words, to be understood. Perhaps the sculptor thought it unnecessary to inscribe these words, as the statue was in view, and spoke for itself. At the other two angles of the pyramid were found two marble pillars broken down; but which have been repaired, and placed where they seem for-

* Livius, l. 5. c. 13.

merly to have stood. These likewise had probably supported small statues. As M. Agrippa is mentioned in the inscriptions, we may conclude with certainty, that this is a work of the Augustan age, and which does no dishonour to it.* The expense of building this pyramid must have greatly exceeded the sum allowed to be employed on sepulchral monuments by the sumptuary laws of the ædiles. Hence the executors of Cestius had been fined in a sum, which they paid by the sale of some rich furniture, as appears from the above inscriptions, and which I shall here transcribe.— 10. *Porta di S. Paolo.*

M. VALERIVS . MESSALLA . CORVINVS .
P. RVTILIVS. LVPVS L. IVNIVS . SOLANVS .
L. PONTIVS . MELA . D. MARIVS .
NIGER . HEREDES . C. CESTI . ET .
L. CESTIVS . QVAE . EX . PARTE . AD .
EVM . FRATRIS . HEREDITAS .
M. AGRIPPAE . MVNERE . PER .
VENIT . EX . EA . PECVNIA . QVAM .
PRO . SVIS . PARTIBVS . RECEPER .
EX . VENDITIONE . ATTALICOR .
QVAE . EIS . PER . EDICTVM .
AEDILIS . IN . SEPVLCRVM .
C. CESTI . EX . TESTAMENTO .
EIVS . INFERRE . NON . LICVIT .

* See M. Falconieri's dissertation on this monument, which is added to Nardini's *Roma Antica*.—See also Piranesi's prints of it, *Ant. Rom.* Tom. 3. tav. 40. to 48 inclusive.——In the middle age this monument was called *Meta Romuli*, as the equestrian statue of M. Aurelius, at the Capitol, was then named *caballus Constantini*. Nerenius de Templo S. Alexii, p. 397.——Protestants, who die at Rome, are buried at the side of this pyramid.

10. *Porta di S. Paolo.*

Vanity led the Romans to erect magnificent monuments to perpetuate the names of their dead. In vain did the ædiles enact laws to restrain this expense. Thus Cicero, * overwhelmed with affliction for the death of his beloved daughter, Tullia, to elude the penalty of these sumptuary laws, meditated to build a temple to her,—"fanum fieri volo"—in place of a sepulchre; which, no doubt, would have done her still a greater honour, for this was a sort of deification, αποθεωσιν. But the confusion of the times had prevented Cicero from carrying this extravagant idea into execution. Indeed this mistaken fondness for the memory of the dead gave rise to much idolatry. "For," Solomon † tells us, "a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he had made an image of his child, soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him, ceremonies and sacrifices."

Church of St. Paul.

The church of *St. Paul*, a mile from the gate, on the *via Ostiensis*, is said to have been founded by Constantine. Before the Reformation, the Kings of England were protectors of it, in the same manner as the Emperor of Germany is protector of St. Peter's, the King of France of St. John Lateran's, and the King of Spain of St. Maria Maggiore. Here we find a noble collection of elegant columns, of various marbles. The most remarkable, however, are the forty, which support the great nave. They are Corinthian fluted pillars, of *pavonazzo*, which were part of those that ornamented

* Epist. ad Atticum. l. 12. ep. 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 35, and 36.

† Book of Wisdom, ch. 14. v. 15.

Adrian's mausoleum, or *Moles Hadriani*, now the *Castel Sant Angelo.* 10. *Porta di S. Paolo.*

A little further on, a road goes off from the left hand of the *via Ostiensis*, and leads to the *Tre Fontane*, anciently *ad aquas Salvias*, a mile from St. Paul's. Here are three churches: but the church in which we find the *three fountains*, is said to be built on the spot where St. Paul suffered martyrdom.* I was told that his head, when struck off, gave three leaps, and a miraculous fountain sprung up at each place where it lighted. These fountains, they pretend, have each a different taste; but, after trial, I could discover no difference in them. Tre Fontane.

About three miles from the gate there was a villa, belonging to Alexander Severus.† Adjoining to it was a sepulchre, which, from inscriptions, seems to have belonged to the Atian family.‡ Here was found, according to Ficoroni,§ a most beautiful sarcophagus, now preserved in the Capitol.‖ On its front are the *nine Muses* in elegant attitudes. They are dis- Villa of Alexander Severus.

* See Piranesi's beautiful large view of the inside of this church.

† Am. Marcellinus, l. 17. c. 4.

‡ This family, originally plebeian, became celebrated by their connection with the Julian, and Octavian families: from the first of which descended Julius Cæsar, and from the second Augustus. Virgil alludes to this, when, in compliment to Augustus, he says—

"Alter Atys, genus unde Atti duxere Latini:
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo."

Æn. l. 5. v. 568.

§ Ficoroni, Vest. di. Rom. l. 1. c. 10. p. 54.

‖ Museo Capitolino, Tom. 4. p. 141. tab. 26, 27, and 28.

10. *Porta di S. Paolo.*

tinguished by different attributes. Foggini, who published this volume of the *Museo Capitolino*, arranges them thus :— 1. Calliope; 2. Melpomene; 3. Euterpe; 4. Terpsichore; 5. Erato; 6. Polyhymnia; 7. Clio; 8. Urania; and 9. Thalia. But the learned Visconti * is of opinion, that the Muses on this fine monument are thus arranged :—1. Clio; 2. Thalia; 3. Erato; 4. Euterpe; 5. Polyhymnia; 6. Calliope; 7. Terpsichore; 8. Urania; and 9. Melpomene. On the cover of this sarcophagus are six personages, in the action of feasting. On the right hand side we see Homer, to whom poetry, or perhaps Calliope, who was called his mother, presents a book. And on the left hand side sits Socrates; and philosophy, or Erato its muse, leaning on a base, reasons with him.

Ostia.

The Romans, sensible of the importance of having an harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, to secure its navigation, built and fortified *Ostia-Tiberina*, which was thus named from the circumstance of its situation. All their historians agree that it was founded by Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of Rome. Livy,† in his account of this King, says— "Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Mæsia Vejentibus adempta: usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita: *salinæ* ‡ circa factæ." Ostia, when

* See Museo Pio Clementino, Tom. 1. p. 98.

† Hist. l. 1. c. 33.

‡ It is still at these *salinæ*, now called *stagno*; that the salt is prepared for the use of Rome and its neighbourhood. But as this operation is performed in the summer, by evaporation, from the heat of the sun; and the air, at that season, is so bad at Ostia, labourers could not be induced to remain there. It is

founded was no doubt washed by the sea, and some pillars even remain, to which ships and boats seem to have been fastened. The land, however, has by alluvion gained here so much on the water, as I have already mentioned,* that Ostia is now about a mile and a half distant from the sea, and consequently rendered useless as an harbour. But Claudius, finding Ostia not sufficiently large and convenient for the increase of the shipping necessary for Rome, built the elegant harbour of *Porto* opposite to it, on the other side of the river, which, in the next article, I shall examine. Though Ostia, in its beginning, must have been a small place, it was at last greatly extended and embellished with villas and other buildings; for remains of walls and ruins, for a considerable space towards Rome, are still to be seen. It has been so defaced, chiefly by the Goths and Saracens, and its temples and houses destroyed, that I can give no description of its former state. At present it is a mean place, though a bishoprick, and the see of the first cardinal-bishop, who is always dean of the sacred college; but as its revenues are very small, the bishoprick of Veletri is annexed to it. 10. *Porta di S. Paolo.*

The Tiber, near its mouth, is divided into two branches, which form an island, which projects into the sea, between Isola Sacra.

for this reason that the Popes have made it an asylum for criminals of every kind, to which these unhappy wretches fly, and support themselves, by preparing the salt. But so pestiferous is the air that they seldom survive many years.

* See page 115.

10. *Porta di S. Paolo.* Ostia and Porto. It is called *Isola Sacra*. The branch of the river towards Ostia is now known by the name of *Bocca de la Fiumara*, and that towards Porto is called *Fiumicino*. It is by this last that vessels, going to Rome, enter the river.

I cross the Tiber, and come to

XI. PORTA PORTESE.

When the walls of the *Transtiberim* were renewed by Urban VIII. this gate was placed further down the river than the ancient one.* It was begun by Urban, and finished by Innocent X.

Though I observed no remains of the ancient road from this gate, yet, according to Leon Batista Alberti,† it seems to have been the most spacious and commodious of all the high ways about Rome. For, he says, it was so broad that a wall, little more than a foot high, divided it into two; and, like the twin gates I formerly mentioned,‡ those who went from Rome took one side of it, and those who came to the city the other. His words are—"quando enim Ægypto, Africa, Lybia, Hispaniis, Germania, Insulis, hominum ingens numerus, mercium maxima vis confluebat; stratam effecêre duplam: et in medio, lapidum ordo eminens ut linea, extabat pedem, ut prodirent altera, redirent altera, vitata properantium offensione."

Harbour of Porto.

This road leads to, and the gate takes its name from, the magnificent harbour of *Porto*, built by Claudius, and not by Trajan, as some authors assert; though it may have been enlarged by the latter. D'Anville,§ copying other authors, called it *Portus Augusti*. It is now, as well as Ostia, at a considerable distance

* See page 28. † Lib. 4. c. 5. Architect. ‡ See page 28.

§ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. Tom. 32. p. 118. ed. in 12mo.

11. *Porta Portese.*

from the sea, as the land here has encroached much on the water.* Although in ruins, and useless, it remains a monument of Roman grandeur, and still deserves the attention of the curious traveller. Entering from the sea, it stands on the left side, as Ostia stands on the right, of the mouth of the Tiber. Its form is preserved on a (brass) medal of Claudius.† There was here a light-house, like that of the famous Pharos of Alexandria, in Egypt.‡ The huge vessel, which Caligula caused to be constructed, to transport an obelisk from Egypt to Rome, was afterwards used as a cassoon, on which the light-house was built. An elevation of this haven was published by Stefano du Perach, in the 1575, when it was, no doubt, more entire than at present; but surely less entire than he has given it. In the year 1743, Benedict XIV. caused a geometrical plan of its ruins to be published. M. Lucatelli has indeed wrote a dissertation of this harbour, with observations on the manner the Romans built their sea-ports along the Mediterranean coast.§

Though Porto is a bishoprick, and the see of the second cardinal-bishop, who is always subdean of the sacred college, it now consists only of a church, the bishop's house, and a dirty inn. But to this bishoprick is annexed that of Sancta Ruffina, formerly called *Sylva Candida.*

Gardens of Julius Cæsar.

The gardens, which Julius Cæsar|| bequeathed to the people

* See pages 115 and 123.

† Erizzo sopra le Medaglie, p. 166.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 12.

§ Saggi di Dissertazioni dell' Accademia di Cortona, Tom. 6. diss. 1.—Here we find both Perach and Benedict's Plans.

|| Suet. Vit. J. Cæsar, c. 83.

of Rome, probably stood near to this gate, on the banks of the Tiber:* 11. *Porta Portese.*

"Trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Cæsaris hortos."

But here I could find no remains of the temple which Tiberius caused to be built to Fortune.—"Ædes Fortis Fortunæ Tiberim juxta in hortis, quos Cæsar dictator populo Romano legaverat.†

* Hor. l. 1. sat. 9. v. 18. † Tacit. Ann. l. 2. c. 41.

XII. PORTA DI S. PANCRAZIO.

It was rebuilt by Urban VIII. and takes its name from the church of that saint on the *via Vitellia*. This gate was, perhaps, formerly called *Aurelia*. It stands on the *Mons Janiculus*, named in the low ages *Mons aureus*, and now by corruption *Montorio*.

Sepulchral monuments.

A little without the gate, on the left hand, is the villa Corsini. About a century ago, in digging and levelling the ground of this villa, a great number of sepulchral monuments were discovered. Pietro Santi Bartoli* traced, designed, and published thirty-four of these funeral chambers, or *columbariæ*. Many of them were elegantly ornamented with stucco and painting, and the floors enriched with mosaic work. I shall not, however, enter into a detail of them, but refer the reader to the plates of that ingenious artist, which will convey a clearer idea of these *columbariæ* than the most accurate description of the pen can do.

Via Vitellia.

At the villa Corsini the road separates. The one to the left hand, called *via Vitellia*, joins the *via Portuensis*, near to the *ponte Galera*. This road, according to Suetonius,† reached from the *Mons Janiculus* to the sea. The other, to the right hand, called *via Aurelia*, leads to *Civita Vecchia*, formerly

* Gli Antichi Sepolcri, da Pietro Santi Bartoli, Vol. I.—In Roma, per de Rossi, 1696, fol.

† Vita Vitel. c. 1.

called *Centumcellæ*. Cicero tells us, that it was by the *via Aurelia* that Catiline went to join Manlius at Fiesole: "Demonstrabo iter; Aurelia via profectus est."* 12. *Porta di S. Pancrazio.* Via Aurelia.

By this gate, Trajan's aqueduct enters Rome. It was brought from the other side of the lake *Sabatinus*, now *Bracciano*. Its course is thirty-five miles. It is at present called *aqua Paolo*, having been renewed and augmented by Pope Paul V. It is so copious that it suffices to turn mills. The inscription on its elegant fountain, at *S. Pietro in Montorio*, calls it *aquæ Alsietinæ*, which were brought by Augustus from the lake *Alsietinus*,† now *Martignano;* and Piranesi, in his map of the aqueducts, marks it as such. But that this is a mistake appears evident from Fabretti‡ and Cassio.§ The *aqua Alsietina*, muddy and bad, was chiefly intended for the use of Augustus's *naumachia;* whereas the Sabatina, wholesome and good, served for all the uses of life. Trajan's aqueduct.

About three quarters of a mile from the gate, on the *via Aurelia*, we entered the *villa Pamfili*, called *di bel respiro*, from its fine and airy situation, of which Algardi was architect. And when we consider its extent and variety of ground, we may pronounce it the most magnificent of the modern Roman villas. Many ancient statues, bas-relieves, and inscriptions, are to be seen here. Villa Pamfili.

* In L. Catilinam, 2.

† *Alsium*, which gave name to the lake, had stood near it. Ruffus Virginius, celebrated by Pliny the younger, had a villa here, which he used to call—"Senectutis suæ nidulum."—Plin. l 6. ep. 10.

‡ Fabretti de Aquæd. No. 87. p. 49. § Corso dell' aque, Tom. 1. p. 353.

I come now to the *gates* on the *Mons Vaticanus*, added by the Popes.*

I. PORTA CAVALLEGGIERI.

It is so called from the stables of the *Cavalleggieri* guards, which stand near it. The road from it, named *via Aurelia nuova*, leads into the *via Aurelia*, at the villa Ferroni.

II. PORTA FABBRICA.

This gate leads to, and probably takes its name from, the brick-kilns in the neighbourhood.

III. PORTA ANGELICA.

It was built by Pius IV. who was named Angelicus before he was Pope. It runs in a straight line to Ponte Mollé, where it communicates with the *Cassian* and *Flaminian* roads.

Via Triumphalis.

Near to this gate passed the *via Triumphalis;* it came down from the *Clivus Cinnæ*, which was part of the *Janiculum*. Among the various honours decreed to Augustus after his death, the senate permitted his body to be brought into Rome by the triumphal road and gate.—"Funus triumphali porta ducendum."†—Had not this been a singularity, it would not have been noticed by the historians.

* See p. 24.

† Suet. Vit. Aug. c. 100. The same is mentioned by Tacitus, Ann. l. 1. c. 8.

This *Clivus Cinnæ* is now called *Monte Mario*, probably from Marius Mellini, whose family is still in possession of a part of it. From their *villa Mario*, on the top of the hill, one enjoys a noble and extensive prospect of Rome and the *Campagnia*. Martial * has described this beautiful situation. It seems to have been a farm belonging to his kinsman Julius Martialis: 3. *Porta Angelica.* Monte Mario.

"Hinc septem dominos videre montes,
Et totam licet æstimare Romam,
Albanos quoque, Tusculosque colles,
Et quodcumque jacet sub urbe frigus."

In the early ages of Rome, surrounded with jealous and hostile neighbours, it was necessary to keep constant guards at each gate. But when the people assembled for business in the *Campus Martius*, these guards were drawn off, that they might assist in the deliberations; and for the security of the city, a small exploratory guard was placed on this very spot of the *Mons Janiculus*, from whence they had so full a view of the *Campagnia* and Rome. Here they erected a standard as a mark of safety, which they removed in case of an alarm. The moment that the people in the *Campus Martius* did not see this standard, there was an end to business, an immediate dissolution of the assembly, and each man ran to his allotted station. This precaution, perhaps necessary in the infancy of Rome, continued long after the reason of it seems to have ceased: and towards the end of the republic, we find it sometimes politically used. Thus when a faction observed that the Mons Janiculus.

* Lib. 4. epig. 63.

3. *Porta Angelica.*

assembly were going to decide any question disagreeable to their wishes, they engaged some confidants to run to the *Janiculum*, and take down the standard; which put an effectual stop to all business. It was in this manner that the senate, in the time of Cicero, stopt the proceedings of the people against Rabirius.*

IV. PORTA DI CASTELLO.

It is so named from the *Castel' sant Angelo*, formerly the mausoleum of Adrian, in its neighbourhood, which I shall afterwards examine. The road from this gate passes through the meadows and vineyards. To the left hand it joins the road from the *porta Angelica*, and to the right hand it leads to the passage-boat at the *Ripetta*.

Ripetta.

This *Ripetta* served formerly, as it does at present, as an harbour for the boats, which bring goods down the river. It was called *Navalia*.

Adrian's circus.

In the meadows, behind the castle, stood *Adrian's circus*: but of which I saw no remains.

Prata Quinctia, the farm of Cincinnatus.

These meadows were of considerable extent, although the greatest part of them are now converted into vineyards. Here probably were the *prata Quinctia*, where L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, nobly poor, was, with his own hands, cultivating his little farm, of four acres, *jugera*,† when he was saluted *dictator*,

* Sueton. Vit. J. Cæsaris, c. 12. † Columella de Re. Rust. l. 1. præf.

by the deputies of the senate. How elegantly does Livy* paint this scene, and the simplicity of the manners of this great man! What a contrast between these virtuous times, and the luxuries and extravagancies of the Romans at the end of the republic, and during the empire! when a senator thought himself narrowly lodged, if his house took up only as much ground as the whole arable estate of Cincinnatus:—"Anguste se habitare nunc putat, cujus domus tantum patet, quantum Cincinnati rura patuerunt."†—Ficoroni ‡ places this venerable farm at Tor di Quinto, a ruin about a mile above the *Ponte Mollé*.§ But the *Navalia*, mentioned by Livy, does not apply to that place, but to the meadows opposite to the *Ripetta*. Pliny indeed confirms this opinion, for he says that it was "in agro Vaticano."‖ It is perhaps unnecessary to observe here; for every one knows, the honours that the Romans, those great masters of human prudence, annexed to agriculture. They brought their dictators and consuls from the plough to quell civil sedition, or to oppose foreign enemies. And after their wisdom and bravery had restored peace to the state, they thought it no dishonour to return back to their farms, and with their triumphant hands again manage the ploughshare.

4. *Porta di Castello.*

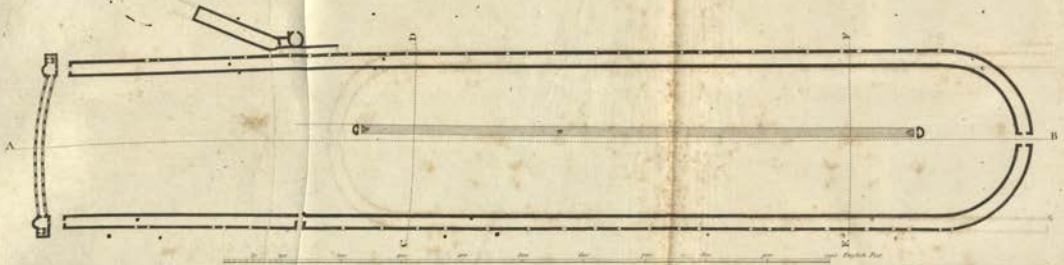
* Lib. 3. c. 26. † Val. Max. l. 4. c. 4. sect 7.

‡ Vest. di Roma, l. 1. c. 28, where see a gem, which he supposes represents this subject. § See page 38. ‖ Pliny, l. 18. c. 3.

Section on the line A.B. in its present Situation.

Section on the line C.D. looking towards the Interior.

Section on the line E.F. looking towards the opposite end.



PLAN of the CIRCUS, supposed to have been built by CARACALLA from a Survey taken May 1782.

ANCIENT ROME.

THE SEVEN HILLS.

HAVING thus examined the *gates* and *walls* of *Rome*, and the antiquities to be seen in its environs, I shall now enter the city.

Rome has always been distinguished by its seven hills.* It has been called *Septi collis*.

> "En hujus, nate, auspiciis illa inclyta Roma
> Imperium terris, animos æquabit Olympo,
> *Septemque* una sibi muro circumdabit *arces*,
> Felix prole virûm."†

The Romans, fond of multiplying festivals, from the circumstance of the seven hills,* instituted a religious ceremony which was called *dies septimontium*. It was celebrated in December:—"dies septimontium nominatus ab his septemmontibus, in queis sita urbs est."‡

* It is remarkable that Constantinople, the capital of the eastern, like Rome, the capital of the western empire, should have been built on seven hills. See Pocock's Description of the East, V. 2. part 2d.

† Virg. Æn. l. 6. v. 782. ‡ Varro. de Ling. Lat. lib. 5.

These hills are, 1. the Palatine, which was the *Roma Quadrata* of Romulus; 2. the Capitol, added by T. Tatius; 3. the Quirinal, added by Numa; 4. the Celian, added by Tullus Hostilius 5. the Aventine, added by Ancus Martius; 6 and 7. the Viminal and Esquinal, added by Servius Tullus. Such seems to have been the progress, in which these hills were included in the city. But in my survey, I shall examine them as they lie contiguous to each other: viz. 1. the Capitol; 2. The Palatine; 3. the Aventine; 4. the Celian; 5. the Esquiline; 6. the Viminal; and 7. the Quirinal.

The *Mons Pincius* was added to the city by Aurelian; and the *Mons Janiculus*, as well as the *Mons Vaticanus*, on the Hetruscan side of the river, were properly without the city.

We can still trace the seven hills. It is true that they are not so conspicuous as formerly. This, no doubt, is owing to length of time, and to the many devastations Rome has undergone. When the buildings on the hills were destroyed, either by hostile hands, or by accidental fire, the rubbish was removed down to the plains, which raised the latter, and consequently diminished the height of the former. Besides the rain, in the space of so many centuries, must have washed away much earth from the hills. The plains, in many places, are now raised eighteen or twenty feet, and in some parts much more, above their former level. Though I cannot determine the height of these hills, when Rome was in all its splendour; yet the ingenious and accurate Sir George

Shuckburgh* has given us their present height, and that of some other remarkable parts of Rome, above the level of the Tiber, which I shall beg leave to subjoin. The level of this river, at Rome, according to Sir George's observations, is 33 feet above that of the Mediterranean.

Above the Tiber.	Feet.
"The top of the Janiculum near the Villa Spada	260
Aventine hill, near the Priory of Malta	117
The Forum, near the arch of Severus, where the ground is raised 23½ feet	34
Palatine hill, on the floor of the imperial palace	133
Celian hill, near the Claudian aqueduct,	125
Bottom of the canal of the Claudian aqueduct	175
Esquiline hill, on the floor of St. Mary Major's church	154
Capitol hill, on the west end of the Tarpeian rock	118
In the *Strada dei Specchi*, in the Convent of St. Clare	27
On the union of the Viminal and Quirinal hills, in the Carthusian's church, Dioclesian's baths	141
Pincian hill, in the garden of the Villa Medici	165
Top of the cross of St. Peter's church	502
The base of the obelisk, in the centre of the peristyle	31"

I shall first survey the hills, in the order in which they naturally lie, and afterwards the plains.

I begin with

* "Observations in order to ascertain the height of mountains by means of the barometer." Philosophical Transactions, Vol. 67. for the year 1777, part 2d, page 594.

I. THE CAPITOL HILL.*

The *Capitol hill*, so celebrated by the Roman writers, is surrounded by the Quirinal hill, the Campus Martius, the Tiber, and the Forum Romanum. It was fortified by Romulus, as well for a defence to his infant city, as for the asylum which he there opened. It was, however, after the Sabine war that it was made a part of the city by Titus Tatius. For this we have the authority of Tacitus.—"Capitolium non a Romulo, sed a T. Tatio additum urbi credidere."†

Capitol repaired, after Rome was sacked by the Gauls.

In the year of Rome 367, after Camillus had taken Veii, and Rome was sacked by the Gauls, the city was in a manner rebuilt, and the Capitol was repaired with square stones; a work, says Livy,‡ that may be admired even in the magnificent times of Augustus.

I observed behind the stables of the Cafferelli palace, a wall which seems to be a part of the ancient fortifications. This remain is published by Ficoroni,§ and by Piranesi.||

Its small extent.

When we view the small extent of this hill, and at the same time call to mind the many temples and other buldings that formerly ornamented it, we are at a loss where to place them. But our wonder ceases, when we consider that these buildings

* See Capitol hill, Plan of Rome, plate III. † Ann. l. 12. c. 24.
‡ Lib. 6. c. 4. ad fin. § Vest. Rom. l. 1. c. 10.
|| Magnif. ed Archit. de' Romani, Tab. 1.

and temples, generally small, did not all exist at the same period. Because, as the Capitol had been frequently destroyed by fire, different names were perhaps given to the new buildings erected on the ruins of the former. Indeed the Romans built so many temples on this hill, that it may be considered as the principal abode of their gods.

1. *The Capitol hill.*

As I find no delineation of the Capitol hill on ancient monuments, and as few of the foundations of the old buildings are now to be seen, it is impossible to give a plan of its former state. The buildings in which the conquerors of the world assembled to decide the fate of mankind, are no more. In many of the descriptions of Rome we find plans and elevations of it; but these are merely ideal, and all differ from each other.

No ancient delineations of it.

Although the whole hill was called *Capitolinus*, yet Livy and the ancient writers distinguish the *Arx*, or citadel, from the *Capitolium*. The former stood on the eminence towards the Tiber, and the latter on the eminence towards the Quirinal. Between these eminences was Romulus's political asylum.

> "Romulus ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto;
> Cuilibet, huc, inquit, confuge; tutus eris."*

Romulus's asylum See Capitol hill, plate III. No. 3.

It was probably about the place where now stands the noble equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Livy † says of Romulus—"locum, qui nunc septus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Ex eo finitimis populis turba omnis, sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum

* Ovid. Fast. l. 3. v. 431.

† Liv. l. 1. c. 8.

1. *The Capitol hill.*

rerum perfugit,"—Asylums are of great antiquity The Jews had six cities of refuge for manslayers, who had killed their neighbours unawares.* But the temples of the Heathens, and afterwards the churches of the Christians, were refuges for criminals of every kind. Asylums, it is true, may occasionally give time to innocence to remove suspicions of guilt; but in general they are hurtful, and serve to encourage and protect crimes.

Temples of Jupiter.

Of the many temples erected on this hill, the two dedicated to Jupiter, by the names of *Feretrius* and *Capitolinus*, were the most remarkable. Donatus † places the former, where now stands the church of the *Ara Cœli*, and the latter behind the palace of the *Conservatori*. Nardini, ‡ on the other hand, places them just the reverse. Both these celebrated antiquaries support their different opinions, by the same passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.§ The opinion indeed of Donatus is confirmed by the learned Fabretti, ‖ who thinks he saw with his eyes the foundations of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, when the Cafferelli family caused the ground to be levelled between their palace and that of the *Conservatori*. He therefore concludes,—"Ex accurata igitur eo loci descriptione, quæ hisce ruderibus optime convenit, controversiam inter P. Alexandrum Donatum et Famianum Nardinum de situ templi subortam, jam facile negotio dijudicare possumus."—Had Fabretti measured these foundations, and given the plan of

* Numbers, ch. 35. v. 6.
† Roma Vetus, l. 2. c. 3.
‡ Roma Ant. l. 5. c. 14.
§ Lib. 4. c. 13. sect. 8.
‖ De columna Trajani, in addition.

them, I should with more certainty have embraced his opinion. 1. *The Capitol hill.*

I shall, however, venture to place the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, being the first built in Rome, at the *Ara Cœli*. It was founded by Romulus, after he had defeated the Cœninenses, and killed Acron their king, whose arms, which he called *opima spolia*,* he consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius. Such was the first Roman triumph; an honour which the Romans in the sequel were so ambitious to obtain;† and which Temple of Jupiter Feretrius. No. 1. First Roman triumph.

* This name, according to Livy, l. 4. c. 20. was only given to such spoils as the general of the Roman army had taken, with his own hands, from the general of the enemy's troops. And in the course of the Roman history, I remember only three who had the glory to carry off such spoils: viz. Romulus, Cornelius Cossus, and M. Claudius Marcellus.

C. Cossus was not, however, commander in chief when he killed Tolumnius. It has been even disputed whether he was then consul, or only military tribune. Livy thinks he was the former. But Varro says, that the spoils were called *opima*, though taken by a private soldier, provided he took them from the general of the enemy. Vide Festus, *opima spolia*.

Plutarch has preserved to us Marcellus's prayer, when he consecrated these trophies to Jupiter.—Life of Marcellus.

† The honour of triumph was allowed only to those commanders who were, or had held the office of dictator, consul, or prætor. Thus a triumph was refused to L. Cornelius Lentulus, though worthy of it, because he had not bore any of these offices.—"Res triumpho dignas esse censebat senatus; sed exemplum à majoribus non accepisse, ut qui neque dictator, neque consul, neque prætor res gessisset, triumpharet." T. Liv. l. 31. c. 20. Pompey's having therefore triumphed, before he had bore any of these offices, was particular. Plutarch's Life of Pompey.

Among the many marks of distinction which the Romans bestowed on their generals, who had obtained the triumphal honours, one was to allow them to

1. *The Capitol hill.*

proved to be one of the principal causes of the greatness of Rome. This temple originally was only ten feet long, and five feet broad:*

"Jupiter angustâ vix totus stabat in æde."†

It had no doubt been rebuilt, and rendered more magnificent, as well as more extensive, in after ages, and particularly by Augustus.‡ But as no part of it now remains, I shall not inquire into its form. Nardini § reckons that the columns, which ornament the nave of this church, are the same which supported the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. I should rather, according to Donatus, suppose them to be the columns of Jupiter Feretrius. But when I examined these columns, which are all of different marbles, heights, and diameters, some of them with, and others of them without bases, I was inclined to think that they had belonged to different buildings. One of these columns, which is the third on the left hand, entering by the great door, has this inscription, cut in large letters, near to the top of it:

construct the doors of their houses so as to open into the street, and not into the house, as those of others did—"Ut domus eorum fores extra aperirentur, et janua in publicum rejiceretur. Hoc erat clarissimum insigne inter triumphales quoque domos." Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 15.—See also Plutarch's Life of Poplicola. Thus every distinction, how trifling soever it may seem to be in itself, conferred by the state, was considered as a mark of honour. Indeed nothing was more political, or tended more to extend the Roman conquests, than the military honours they bestowed on every great action; such as crowns, supplications, ovations, triumphs, medals, inscriptions, statues, &c.

* Dion. Hal. l. 2.

† Ovid. Fast. l. 1. v. 201.

‡ Liv. l. 4. c. 19.

§ P. 310, ed. 1704, 4to.

1. *The Capitol hill.*

A CVBICVLO
AVGVSTORVM .

The Cubicularii.

The *Cubicularii* were officers that belonged to the imperial court, and seem to have been either *valets des chambres*, or those distinguished persons, in some modern courts, called *chambellans*. If this inscription is entire, which I shall not affirm, we may suppose that it marked out the station allotted to the *Cubicularii* in some public building. But if it is only a part of an inscription, perhaps it has been a column of a building erected at the expense of some of these officers. The great staircase that leads to the church, from the side of the *Campus Martius*, consists of one hundred and twenty-four steps. The marble, with which this staircase is constructed, was taken from the temple of Jupiter Quirinus, on the Quirinal hill.

Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. No. 2.

Although there are no remains of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, it is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. Tarquinius Priscus, in the Sabine war, vowed to build a temple to Jupiter on the *Mons Tarpeius*.* Tradition pretends that digging for its foundations, they found a human head entire.† The augurs immediately pronounced this an happy omen, and gave the name of *Capitolium* to this place. The whole hill was afterwards called *Mons Capitolinus*. This temple, though begun by the elder, was only finished by the younger Tarquin. But the honour of consecrating it was reserved to the

* This hill was anciently called *Saturnius*, and afterwards *Tarpeius*, from the virgin *Tarpeia*, who admitted the Sabines into the fortress.

† Varro de Ling. Lat. lib. 4. sect. 7.

1. *The Capitol hill.*

consul Horatius Pulvillus.* The riches got at taking Suessa Pometia, the capitol of the Volsci, are said to have sufficed for building this temple. It was several times consumed by fire. First in the Marian war, and rebuilt by Sylla:—"Curam [*Capitolii*] victor Sylla suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum felicitati ejus negatum:"†—but not having been entirely finished at his death, it was completed, and afterwards dedicated by the consul Q. Lutatius Catulus, who had the honour to have his name inscribed on its front.‡ Indeed Julius Cæsar, then connected with and desirous to flatter Pompey, endeavoured to have the dedication of this temple conferred on him, and his name inscribed on it, in place of that of Catulus: but Cæsar failed in this invidious attempt.§ After the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was thus rebuilt, it seems to have suffered from thunder, in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus. For Cicero tells us that, at this time, the turrets of the Capitol, the statues of the gods, and the image of the infant Romulus sucking the wolf, were struck down by lightning.—"Tactus est ille etiam, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus: quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus

* Tacit. Hist. l. 3, c. 72 † Tacit. ib

‡ Vide Panvinius et Sigon. in Fast. Cons. ad ann. 675.

Q. LVTATIVS . Q . F .
Q . N . CATVLVS . COS .
SVBSTRVCTIONEM . ET .
TABVLARIVM . EXS . C .
FACIVNDVM . CVRAV .

This inscription, found in the ruins of the Capitol, was perhaps the original which Catulus put up.

§ Sueton. Vit. J. Cæsar. c. 15.

lupinis inhiantem fuisse meministis."*—In the modern Capitol is preserved a brazen figure of Romulus and Remus sucking the wolf, which is generally supposed to be that mentioned by Cicero; because on one of the legs of the wolf there are marks of liquefaction by a stroke of lightning. This statue, we are told, was found in the temple of Romulus, at the foot of the Palatine hill, now dedicated to St. Theodoro. It might probably have been removed thither from the Capitol. It is surely of great antiquity, and perhaps the work of an Hetruscan artist. The singular circumstance of its being damaged by thunder, leaves little reason to doubt, but that it is the same statue mentioned by Cicero.† It is not improbable that Virgil had this statue in view, when he drew his elegant description:

1. *The Capitol hill.* Romulus and Remus sucking the wolf, in brass.

———" Geminos huic ubera circum
Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexam
Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua."‡

Secondly, this temple was destroyed in the Vitellian sedition, and rebuilt by Vespasian. And thirdly, at the end of his reign, it was again burnt down, and for the last time rebuilt by Domitian. Thus it stood till it was demolished and robbed by the barbarous Genseric, who, as Procopius tells us,§ was invited to Rome by Eudoxia to destroy Maximus, who had killed her husband Valentinian.—" Jovis Capitolini templum diripuit, ac mediam partem abstulit tecti, quod ex ære optimo ductum

* In Catil. 3. † Divinat. l. 2. c. 20. ‡ Æn. l. 8. v. 631.
§ Byzant. Hist. Script. Tom. 1. p. 352, ed. Ven.

1. *The Capitol hill.*

erat."—The remainder of the brass seems to have been carried off by Pope Honorius I. to ornament the church of St. Peter. From the description given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,* Nardini† has formed a plan of this temple: but we know how uncertain a plan must be, taken from description only. Perhaps we have an elevation of its portico, preserved in one of the basso-relievos, of Marcus Aurelius's triumphal arch, now placed in the staircase of the palace of the Conservatori. This building, *delubrum*, consisted of three temples, or shall I say of three chapels, under the same roof. The one in the middle was that of Jupiter, on the right hand was that of Minerva, and on the left that of Juno. These three were the—"Dî patrii indigetes"—of Virgil.‡ Fabretti§ has published an ancient gem, on which these deities, sitting in chairs, are engraved in the same order. It was probably copied from their statues placed here. They were originally of baked clay; but it appears from Martial, that Trajan caused them to be executed in gold:

"Sculptus et æterno nunc primum Jupiter auro."

It was perhaps to preserve the memory of this magnificent present, that we find these statues on the reverse of that emperor's medals.¶ In the work entitled "Lucernæ fictiles musei Passerii," there is a lamp, on which is represented the inside of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Here we see the

* Lib. 3. † Roma Ant. l. 5. c. 15. ‡ Geor. l. 1. v. 498.
§ De Columna Trajani, in addition. ‖ Lib. 11. epig. 4.
¶ Havercamp. Num. Reginæ Christinæ, Tab. 12. No. 23.—Just. Rycqui de Capitol Romano Comment. p. 52.

three deities in their niches; Jupiter is in the centre, Juno is on the left, and Minerva on the right hand. Below is inscribed—M . I . PH . COS . III.—which is interpreted, Marcus Julius Philippus Cos. III. It may therefore have served in the festival given by that emperor, in celebrating the secular games. Incredible were the riches and ornaments of this temple, as described by ancient authors. Domitian expended twelve thousand talents in gilding it.* Although often rebuilt, its precincts seem to have remained the same.† The only difference was in the taste of architecture and ornaments. It was originally of the Tuscan order, and built by artists of that country. But when restored by Domitian it became Corinthian, and was surely then in its greatest beauty: 1. *The Capitol hill.*

"Et laudant Catuli vilia templa senes."‡

Pliny informs us, that after the third Punic war, the pavement of this temple was engraved; but he does not mention what it represented. We learn, however, from him, that it was the first of that kind of work introduced into Rome.§

It was into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the side next Minerva's chapel, that the chief magistrate drove a nail, annually, on the *ides* of September, whereby they The annual nail.

* Plut. Life of Poplicola.

† "Curam restituendi Capitolii in L. Vestinum confert (Vespasianus). Ab eo contracti haruspices, monuere, ut reliquiæ prioris delubri in paludes aveherentur: templum iisdem vestigiis sisteretur: nolle deos mutari veterem formam." Tacit. Hist. l. 4. c. 53.

‡ Mart. l. 5. epig. 10.

§ "Romæ scalpturatum in Jovis Capitolini æde primum factum est post tertium Punicum bellum initum." Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 25.

1. *The Capitol hill.*

reckoned the years of the state, by the number of nails. Livy* calls this ceremony *clavum pangere*, or *clavum figere:* and adds the reason of this method of preserving their chronology—"quia raræ per ea tempora literæ erant." The nail was called *clavus annalis.* I find this custom remaining in the 391 year of Rome, in the consulate of L. Æmilius Mamercinus, and of Cn. Genucius Aventinesis. The country people long continued to reckon their own and children's ages, by driving nails into the walls of their cottages.† This operation was likewise believed to be an antidote against the plague: for this purpose L. Manlius, A. U. 390, was named *Dictator to drive the nail.*

Ædes Fidei.

Cicero places the *Ædes Fidei* near to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, but of which there are no remains.—"Qui jus jurandum violat, is Fidem violat, quam in Capitolio vicinam Jovis Opt. Max. majores nostri esse voluerunt."‡

The Tarpeian rock.

From the *Tarpeian rock* the Romans threw down many of their criminals:

———"Et horribilis de saxo jactus deorsum."§

A mode of execution used by the Jews,‖ and other ancient nations. But its situation, like that of many of the Roman antiquities, is disputed by the antiquaries. The precipice at

* Lib. 7. c. 3. † Petron. Satyr. c. 59. ‡ Cic. de Officiis, l. 3. c. 29. § Lucretius, l. 3. v. 1029.

‖ 2 Chronicles, ch. 25. v. 12.—See Barrington's Observations on the ancient Statutes, viz. 23 Henry VIII.

the corner of the Cafferelli palace, and which overlooks the convent of the *Tor di Specchi*, is commonly shown as such. And, notwithstanding the quantity of rubbish with which it is filled up, its height is not so contemptible as represented by Bishop Burnet,* who seems, unhappily, to have had a reluctancy to tell truth, even when he had no interest to do otherwise. This precipice is still about sixty feet of perpendicular height: and if we add to it twenty feet, which seems to be the height of the rubbish accumulated at the bottom above the modern street, and twenty feet more, the height of the latter above that of the ancient street; the height of the whole was about an hundred feet. Others again have placed this *rock* on the side of the hill towards the *Forum*. And, indeed, there is a considerable rock, on that part of the hill called *Monte Caprino*, which overlooks the *piazza* of the church *della Consolazione*, where formerly was the *Forum Romanum*. This rock, no doubt, might have served for this dismal purpose. But the former seems more probably to have been the *Tarpeian rock*, because from it the criminal was thrown properly out of the city, into the *Campus Martius*, which was, as I have already observed, only inclosed within the city walls by Aurelian. Yet Dionysius of Halicarnassus† tells us, that Cassius, condemned for conspiring against the state, in the twenty-third year after the expulsion of the kings, was thrown down, in presence of the people, from the rock that overlooked the *Forum*.

1. *The Capitol hill.* No. 4.

No. 5.

Although the Romans placed many of the tables of their Tabularium.

* Travels, p. 231. ed. 1750.

† Lib. 8. c. 12. sect. 4.

1. *The Capitol hill.*

No. 6.

laws in the *portico* of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and in the *Atrium Libertatis*, which seems to have stood on the Aventine hill; yet they had a particular building for that purpose on the Capitol hill, called the *Tabularium*. The public laws engraved on tables of brass, were fixed up in the porticos of this building, for the immediate inspection of the people; as within it the prvate deeds and other records were preserved. Vespasian undertook to restore three thousand of these tables which were defaced by fire, in the Vitellian tumult, causing diligent search to be made for the truest copies to supply the loss.—"Instrumentum Imperii pulcherrimum, ac vetustissimum confecit, quo continebantur pene ab exordio urbis senatus-consulta, plebiscita, de societate et fœdere, ac privilegio cuicumque concessis."* These laws thus restored by Vespasian, were again destroyed in a subsequent fire. And, in these different conflagrations, we may justly conclude, perished the most valuable vouchers of the Roman history. The senators' palace is built on the ruins of the *Tabularium*; and we still see a part of its Doric portico, towards the *Forum*, which serves for the stables.†

Temple of Jupiter Tonans.

No. 7.

Immediately behind the *Tabularium*, on the declivity of the hill, but much covered with rubbish, are three columns, with part of the frieze and cornice of the temple of *Jupiter Tonans*. Of all the epithets given to Jupiter, none conveyed more terror to superstitious man than that of the Thunderer—

"Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare."‡

* Suet. Vit. Vespas. c. 8. Vest. di Roma, l. 1. c. 10.

† This remain is published by Ficoroni,

‡ Hor. l. 3. od. 5.

Hence it was that Augustus caused this temple to be built, to celebrate an escape which was somewhat particular. For being on an expedition in Cantabria, and travelling by night, a flash of lightning struck against his litter, and killed the servant who carried the torch.* It had been burnt down, probably, along with the *Tabularium*, and afterwards restored, as appears from the letters . ESTITVER . . .† still to be seen on the frieze. This temple is Corinthian, the columns are white marble fluted, and the capitals and frieze are finely wrought.‡ On the side of the frieze remain some instruments of sacrifice elegantly cut in basso-relievo, viz. the *præficulum*, the *patera* the *aspergillum*, the *securis*, and *culter*. Here we see the *albogalerus*, a cap exactly like a bishop's mitre, which no doubt had been worn by the priests of Jupiter, and from which the church has taken this ornament. Augustus has likewise transmitted to us the history of this event, on the reverse of one of his medals where we see this temple, with the inscription— 1. *The Capitol hill.*

IOVI TONANTI.

It appears from Suetonius,§ that the emperor often went to this temple; and that the people, copying his example, rarely paid their devotions to any other deity. The historian, there-

* Suet. Vit. Aug. c. 28.

† The first letter, viz. R is wanting, as are the last three, viz. VNT.

‡ See Piranesi's view of it—Ant. di Roma, Tom. 1. tab. 32. fig. 2.—See also "Les Edifices de Rome, par Desgodetz," c. 11.

§ "Cum dedicatam in Capitolio ædem Tonanti Jovi assidue frequentaret, somniavit queri Capitolinum Jovem, cultores sibi abduci, seque respondisse: Tonantem pro janitore ei appositum."—Vit. August. c. 91.

1. *The Capitol hill.*

fore, pleasantly tells us, that Jupiter Capitolinus appeared in a dream to Augustus, and complained that he had diminished the number of his votaries, to which he artfully answered, that he had only given him a porter in the person of Jupiter Tonans. And, inded, this temple is so placed that it might have been called the *porter's lodge* of the Capitol.

Modern Capitol.

I cannot leave this hill without observing, that the modern Capitol was rebuilt, by order of Pope Paul III. from the designs of Michael Angelo Buonaroti. And the *Museum* and *palace* of the *Conservatori* are monuments of the fine taste of that great artist.

Museum.

The *Museum* contains the noble collection of marbles, busts, statues, basso-relievos, urns, inscriptions, &c. formed by Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. To give a list of these curious monuments would require a particular work; and such a one has been presented to the public, accompanied with prints and learned remarks, by Monsignor Bottari, and Signor Niccolo Fuggini.* And Marchese Lucatelli † has given a decsriptive catalogue of them.

Lex regia.

In the *Museum* I saw the plate of brass on which is engraved

* "Museo Capitolino, contenente le imagini degli uomini illustri, &c. colle osservazioni di Monsignor Gio. Bottari." In Roma, nella Calcografia, 4 Tom. fol.

† "Museo Capitolino, o sia descrizioni delle statue, &c. che si custodiscono nell palazzo alla destra del Senatorio, &c. In Roma, nella Stamperia del Bernabo, 1750. 4to.

the celebrated decree called the *Lex Regia*. By this lasting monument of servility the senate divested themselves of all power, by authorising Vespasian to make and repeal laws, declare peace and war, and to do every other act of sovereignty, without asking their advice or consent. This inscription, indeed, proves that the emperors, as such, did not succeed to the unlimited power of the kings; for the supreme power still remained in the people and senate, who conferred it on such, and not on all, of the emperors as they judged proper. Because here we find that, before Vespasian, this exuberant authority had been given only to Augustus, to Tiberius, and to Claudius.* 1. *The Capitol hill.*

In the palace of the *Conservatori*, among other ancient curious monuments, are preserved the *Fasti Consulares*, found in the *Forum*, during the pontificate of Paul III. and given to the Capitol by Cardinal Alexander Farnese; inscriptions well known, and which have thrown much light on chronology. Conservatori. Fasti Consulares.

In an adjacent building is the gallery of pictures purchased by Pope Benedict XIV. for the use of the public, and where he established the academy of drawing. Gallery of Pictures.

Let me now turn towards the *Forum*. The entries to the Capitol were formerly from that side, the rest being fortified. Entries to the Capitol.

* This inscription has been published by several authors, particularly by Gruter, Gronovius, Gravina, Heineccius, and by Leopoldus Metastatius, in a dissertation intituled—De Lege Regia, seu tabula ænea capitolina, notis animadversionibus illustrata per Leopoldum Metastasium, *Petri fratrem*. Romæ, 1757. 4to.

1. *The Capitol hill.*

They seem to have been three. The *clivus capitolinus* probably led from the side of the *Tabularium* towards the temple of *Concord*, and was terminated by Tiberius's triumphal arch, of which there is no remain.* The second entry was from the other side of the *Tabularium*, and led to Septimius Severus's triumphal arch, which I shall afterwards mention. And the third entry led to the *Forum of Mars*, and is now called *Salita di Marforio*, a corruption of *Martis Forum*: this entry is just behind the church named *St. Peter's prison*, which is commonly reckoned the ancient *Tullianum*.† Though these three were the principal entries to the Capitol, yet it appears from Tacitus'‡ account of the Vitellian war, that a staircase of an

Tullianum.

* This arch was erected in memory of the standards, *the eagles*, lost by Varus in Germany, having been recovered by Germanicus, under the auspices of Tiberius.—Tacit. Ann. l. 2. c. 41.

† The *Tullianum*, so called from Servius Tullius, who seems to have invented it, was not the prison in general, but a dismal dungeon in it, where malefactors were privately strangled. To be sent to the *Tullianum* was the same as a sentence of death. As a terror to commit a crime, this prison was built in view of the *Forum*. The description which Sallust gives of the *Tullianum* conveys to us all the horrors of a prison:—"Est locus in carcere, quod *Tullianum* adpellatur, ubi paullulum ascenderis ad lævam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus; eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta; *sed incultu, tenebris, odore fœda atque terribilis ejus facies est.*" Bel. Catilin. c. 55. This description, I think, exactly answers to the appearance of the church called *St. Peter's prison*, though antiquaries are divided in their opinions on this head. (See Nardini, Rom. Ant. l. 5. c. 11.) The *Tullianum* was long the only prison in Rome. Juvenal considered this as a mark of the morals of the people:—

"Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
Secula, quæ quondam sub regibus, atque tribunis
Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam." Sat. 3. v. 312.

‡ Hist. l. 3. c. 71.

hundred steps led to the Capitol by the Tarpeian rock.— "Tum diversos Capitolii aditus invadunt, juxta lucum asyli, et quà Tarpeia rupes centum gradibus aditur." 1. *The Capitol hill.*

At the north-east side of this hill, at what is now called *Macel di Corvi*, I observed the remains of the sepulchral monument of C. Poblicius Bibulus, which is thus inscribed— Sepulchre of C. Poblicius. Bibulus.

C. POBLICIO . L. F. BIBVLO . AED . PL. HONORIS
VIRTVTISQVE . CAVSA . SENATVS
CONSVLTO . POPVLIQVE . IVSSV . LOCVS
MONVMENTO . QVO . IPSE . POSTEREIQVE
EIVS . INFERRENTVR . PVBLICE . DATVS . EST.

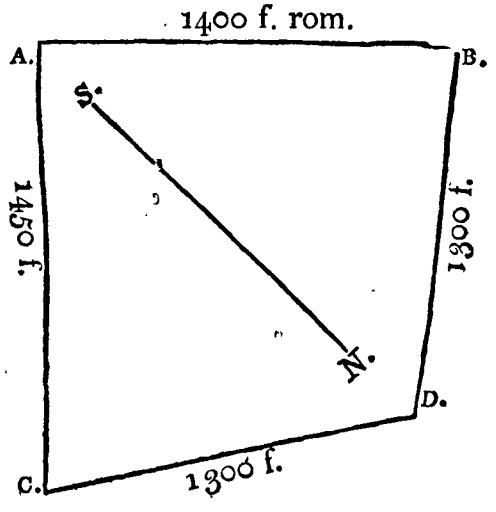
This monument, when erected, had been without the walls of the city, and was properly in the *Campus Martius*. Still it was a singular honour conferred on Bibulus, who seems to have lived in the time of the second Punic war, though I cannot with certainty trace his history. Indeed I find a C. Poblicius Bibulus pro-quæstor in the consulship of Q. Fabius Flaccus in the year of Rome 541, and tribune of the people in the consulship of Q. Fabius Maximus, in the year 544. This monument is no doubt of great antiquity, and the form of the characters of the inscription deserve the attention of the curious. It is published by Piranesi.*

* Ant. Rom. Tom. 2. tab. 4 and 5.

II. THE PALATINE HILL.

The Palatine hill, which we may consider as the centre of the seven hills, was that on which Romulus founded Rome; it was the *Roma Quadrata;* but in the sequel it served only for the imperial palace.

It is a trapezium approaching to a parallelogram:



The side AB fronts the Circus Maximus, BD the Forum Romanum, DC the via Sacra, and CA the Celian hill.

Imperial palace, begun by Augustus, and finished by Domitian.

Before the time of Augustus, many buildings, both public and private stood on this hill. It was in Hortensius's house where Augustus first dwelt. But that having been consumed

by fire,* and perhaps thought too little for the imperial dignity, he seems to have formed a regular plan of an immense building. He executed, however, only that part of it towards the Celian hill. The other half, towards the Forum, was carried on by Tiberius, and completed by Caligula. But as the palace had suffered much from fire, at different times, the whole was restored and rendered more magnificent by Domitian. For which purpose he employed the architect Rabirius, whose talents are celebrated by Martial:†— 2. *The Palatine hill.*

> "Astra polumque tua cepisti mente, Rabiri:
> Parrhasiam mirâ qui struis arte domum."

This palace is most advantageously situated. It overlooks, in a manner, the city, and is placed, according to Vitruvius,‡ in the most healthful position. For he advises, in such a climate as Italy, not to build a house to front any of the four cardinal points of the compass: and here we find this building flanked by them; for the line SN lies south and north. Its situation.

Few of the magnificent buildings of the Romans have suffered more than the imperial palace, from length of time and barbarous hands. Indeed many remains of it are still to be seen, but so disjointed and defaced, that I cannot but think it almost impossible to make out with certainty a plan, and much more so an elevation of it. Such an undertaking, how- Described by Bianchini.

* Suet. Vit. Aug. c. 57.

† Lib. 7. ep. 56.—Vide l. 10. ep. 71.

‡ Lib. 1. c. 6.

2. *The Palatine hill.*

ever, has been attempted by the learned Monsignor Bianchini.* He died before his work was finished, and several articles he no doubt intended to have mentioned are wanting. It is true, he does not offer to give plans or elevations of the palace as it was left either by Augustus, or Tiberius, or Caligula, but only as it was restored and improved by Domitian. Although this work, which is full of ingenious remarks, does not give us, perhaps, the real plan of the imperial palace, yet it gives us such an one as is not unworthy of the Roman emperors, and may afford many useful and curious hints to architects.

Bianchini divides this palace into two parts. The half which looks towards the Celian hill, he calls *Domus Augustana*, and many of its ruins are to be seen in the gardens of the English college, and convent of St. Bonaventura. The other half, which looks towards the Forum, he calls *Domus Tiberiana*, and we find its ruins in the Farnese gardens. Each of these buildings was divided into several courts and apartments

See Palatine hill, pl. III. No. 1. and 2. No. 5.

Gardens of Adonis.

Between these two buildings were the gardens of Adonis. They stood on that part of the hill now belonging to the Spada family. They were laid out by Domitian in the Assyrian manner, and seem to answer to the description given of those of Ahasuerus, in the book of Esther, ch. 1. Perhaps we have the plan of these gardens, and of the noble hall, or *triclinium*, that stood in their centre, still preserved, in one of the fragments of the marble plan of Rome, executed in the time

* Dell' Palazzo de' Cesari, opera postuma di Monsignor Francesco Bianchini, Veronese. In Verona, per Berno, 1738, fol.

of Septimius Severus, and which are now placed in the Capitol. This fragment is marked . . DONAEA . . , the first letter A having been broke off. Bellori,* who first published these fragments, reckons ADONAEA the same as *Adonidis Aula.* It was here that Domitian, according to Philostratus,† gave audience to Apollonius Tyaneus, that celebrated impostor. 2. *The Palatine hill.*

The entry to the gardens seems to have been from the *via Sacra.* The end towards the *circus* was terminated by a theatre, which Panvinius,‡ and from him Bianchini calls *theatrum Tauri.* I am at a loss to know the reason of its being thus named. I remember no theatre built by Taurus. There was, indeed, an amphitheatre built by Statilius Taurus, which stood in the Campus Martius; but which is quite different from the theatre on this hill. On each side of the gardens there was a *gymnasium,* or *hyppodrom,* for exercise. A theatre. No. 3.

The palace was supplied with water from the Claudian aqueduct, which was brought over the Celian hill: and some of its arches are to be seen in the gardens of St. Bonaventura. Claudian aqueduct.

It was on the Palatine hill that Augustus built the temple of Apollo. It stood, according to Bianchini, a little beyond Titus's triumphal arch, in the gardens formerly of Ronconi, and which are now part of the convent of St. Bonaventura. Temple of Apollo.

* Fragmenta Vestigii veteris Romæ. Tab. XI. They have since been republished, in small, by Piranesi, Ant. Rom. Tom. 1.

† Life of Apollonius Tyaneus, l. 7. c. 14, and l. 8. c. 2.

‡ De ludis Circensibus.

2. *The Palatine hill.* On the reverse of a medal of Augustus, published by Ficoroni,* I observe a temple, which is reckoned the one in question. By this it appears to have been a *rotondo*, with an open portico, somewhat like the temple of Vesta. Bianchini places it in a square court ornamented with a peristyle. The statues of the fifty daughters of Danaus surrounded the portico;† and opposite to them their husbands on horseback. In this temple were preserved some of the finest works, both of sculpture and painting of the celebrated Greek artists. Here, in presence of Augustus, the *Carmen Seculare* of Horace was sung by twenty-seven noble youths, and as many virgins. And here the emperor, towards the end of his reign, often assembled the senate.‡

Libraries. Contiguous to this temple were the Greek and Latin libraries, formed by Augustus. In these were deposited the works of the most elegant writers. They were under the immediate protection of Apollo. Horace,§ accusing Celsus of plagiarism, says he copies the works approved of by the Palatine Apollo:

> "Quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus, multumque monendus;
> Privatas ut quærat opes, et tangere vitet
> Scripta, Palatinus quæcunque recepit Apollo."

Caius Julius Higinus, the freedman of Augustus, and an eminent grammarian, was librarian of the Palatine library.‖

* Le Vest. di Roma, l. 1. c. 8.
† Propertius, l. 2. eleg. 21.
‡ Suet. V. Aug. c. 29.
§ Lib. 1. epist. 3
‖ Suetonius de illust. Gramm. c. 20.

In the year 1720, digging in the Farnese gardens, a most magnificent hall was discovered. It had been concealed by the roof which had broken down, and by the rubbish of the adjacent buildings which had been carried there. See its plan and elevation in Bianchini. It was 200 palms in length, and 132 in breadth. It was ornamented with columns of *giallo antico*, and other precious marbles. Here were found several colossal statues of basalte. And indeed the very fragments of capitals and friezes, still to be seen in the Farnese gardens, demonstrate the magnificence of this hall. No sooner was it fully discovered than the Farnese family robbed it of all its ornaments. Bianchini reckons that it was built by Domitian, and served for the great chamber of audience.

2. *The Palatine hill.* A magnificent hall.

Behind this hall I saw baths, which had been finely painted. A few of the paintings still remaining are a proof of it. These surely were not the baths mentioned by Cicero, in his oration for Sextus Roscius: but perhaps they are those to which Caligula endeavoured to escape, when he was murdered by the captain of the pretorian guard, in an unfrequented corridor that led to them, as related by the historian Josephus.*

Baths.

Bianchini places the temple of Augustus near to the great hall, on a line with that of Apollo. I am rather inclined to think, that the temple of Augustus stood on the side of the hill towards the *Forum;* since it was over that temple that Caligula laid his bridge to join the palace to the Capitol.†

Temple of Augustus.

* De Bello Jud. l. 19. c. 1.

† Suet. V. Calig. c. 23.

2. *The Palatine hill.* This temple was destroyed by fire, before the time of Pliny the elder.

The part of the palace towards the *Forum* was extended by Caligula.* He so contrived it, that the temple of Castor and Pollux seemed to be no more than a portico to his imperial mansion. He thus honoured these heroical divinities, by making them his porters. Here he used to sit, in his mad fits, to be seen amidst his brother deities, and to be adored by those who came to him about business.

Front of the palace. No. 4. There were, no doubt, entries to the palace from each side: but the principal front was towards the *via Sacra*. Bianchini flatters himself that he has discovered the elevation of its portico. For Servius, the ancient commentator of Virgil, says that the poet,† under the name of the palace of Latinus, really described that of Augustus on the Palatine hill:—

> "Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis,
> Urbe fuit summa," &c.

Now, at these verses, we find a painting, preserved among the fragments of the Vatican Virgil,‡ of a portico, with eight fluted Corinthian columns, not unlike that of the Pantheon. This Bianchini supposes to have been copied from Augustus's palace, as that building probably existed when these paintings

* Suet. V. Calig. c. 23. † Æn. 7. v. 170.

‡ See Sancto Bartoli's print of it, in "Antiquissimi Virgiliani Codicis fragmenta, et picturæ ex bibliotheca Vaticana."

were executed; which Mabillion* reckons to be prior to the time of Constantine. 2. *The Palatine hill.*

To render the ascent to the palace, from the *via Sacra*, more easy, there were steps, probably extended in a semicircular form, before the portico, but so low that even horses and carriages could go up. It was such as the Italians call *scala a cordonata.* When Plotina, the virtuous wife of Trajan, first entered the imperial palace, she stopped on the staircase, and, turning to the people, said, that she hoped to return from the palace as innocent as she now entered it.† In the Theodosian code‡ we find several laws of Valentinian and Valens,—"de annonis civicis, et de pane gradili"—which ordered the bread, their liberality gave to the people, to be publicly distributed on the staircase. It is reasonable to believe that it was done on the steps of the palace, under their own eyes. Principal entry.

The extent, the variety, the beauty and riches of the imperial palace pronounced it the habitation of the masters of the world.

I cannot conclude this article, without mentioning the temple of the goddess *Viriplaca*, which anciently stood on the Palatine hill.§ When any dispute arose between husband and wife, they repaired to this temple, and after exposing their complaints before the goddess, all their differences were Temple of Viriplaca.

* Iter Italicum, p. 61.

† Dion. Cassius, in Trajano, c. 15.

‡ L. 14. tit. 17.

§ Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1.

2. *The Palatine hill.*

immediately reconciled, and they returned home in friendship. Pity it is that there are not every where temples that can produce such happy effects!

Mr. Gibbon* says, that "the epithet *Viriplaca*, appeaser of husbands, too clearly indicates on which side submission and repentance were always expected." The celebrated historian seems to have taken this idea from the learned Ludovicus Vives.† But the persuasive eloquence of the fair sex will, no doubt, easily vindicate their own rights; nor need they the assistance of my rough voice to do so.

* Roman Empire, Vol. 4. p. 379. 4to.

† Treatise on the duties of husbands to their wives, l. 2.

III. THE AVENTINE HILL.

Behind the Circus Maximus lies the *Aventine hill.* It is surrounded by the circus, the Tiber, the city walls, and Caracalla's baths. Here Remus wished to build the new city, but was prevented by an unpropitious augury. This hill was therefore long considered as unfortunate. And though it was inclosed by walls, and thus added to Rome by Ancus Martius, yet it was not reckoned properly within the *pomœrium* till the reign of Claudius.

See Aventine hill, plate III.

On the Aventine hill were many temples and other buildings, of which Nardini* has given us a list: but as there are now no remains of them, I shall not give myself much trouble to fix their precise situations. At present a few churches and vineyards are only to be seen here.

Of these temples that of Diana † was the most celebrated. It was built by Servius Tullius at the expense, and for the common use of the people of Latium and Sabina. Here they annually assembled, and, after sacrificing to the goddess, any disputes that had arisen between the different cities were amicably adjusted. The treaty of alliance, and the rules to be observed at these meetings, were engraved on a pillar in the

Temple of Diana.

* Roma Ant. l. 7. c. 7.

† Diana was the same as Luna: hence Ovid says—

"Luna regit menses, hujus quoque tempora mensis
Finit Aventino Luna colenda jugo." Fast. l. 3. v. 883.

3. *The Aventine hill.*

temple.* This political institution resembled that of Ephesus, dedicated by the Asiatic Greeks to the same deity. Where this temple stood is quite uncertain. Some antiquaries have placed it where now stands the church of St. Sabina, and others where we see that of St. Prisca; but Bufulini, in his map of Rome,† places it almost on the centre of the hill.

No. 1.

No. 2.

Temple of Juno.

Another remarkable temple that stood on this hill was that of Juno, vowed to her by Camillus at the siege of Veii. Her statue, which was carried in solemn procession from that unfortunate city, was preserved here:

"Nec gens ulla tuos æque celebrabit honores."‡

The situation of this temple is equally uncertain. I find, indeed, that some antiquaries place it at St. Sabina. The twenty-four elegant Corinthian columns, of white marble, fluted, which support the nave of this church, may have ornamented some of the temples that stood in this neighbourhood.

Temple of Hercules. No. 3.

Near to this church is that of St. Alexius, lately rebuilt at the expense of Cardinal Quirini.§ The temple of Hercules is by some writers placed here; for near to it was found the statue of young Hercules, of basalte, preserved in the Capitol.

Armilustrum.

Others reckon that this had been the situation of the *armilustrum*, from an inscription likewise found here.

* Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 7. sect. 5.

† Republished by Nolli.

‡ Virg. Æn. l. 12. v. 840.

§ D. Felix Nerinius, de Templo et Cœnobio S. S. Bonifacii et Alexii.

3. *The Aventine hill.*

SACRVM . MAG . VICI . ARMILVSTRI .

The *armilustrum*† was an annual feast,‡ at which the soldiers, in armour, were purified. They sacrificed and danced round an altar, perhaps in honour of Hercules. It was probably here that the Romans deposited their arms; for they were not allowed to wear them but in time of war. The polished Romans, as well as the Greeks, thought it incompatible with civil government to wear arms in time of peace. If disputes arose between man and man, they were to be decided by the magistrate. To be armed in time of peace, and to determine our private quarrels with the sword, are customs *we* inherit from our Gothic and Celtic ancestors. The Germans were always armed.—"Nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei, nisi armati agunt."§—The absurd and barbarous method of deciding questions of property by duel, seems to have been early practised by the Celtic nations. Thus we find in Spain, about the 546th year of Rome, two noblemen, cousin-germans, deciding by the sword a claim for the principality of the city of Ibis. And though Scipio desired to settle their dispute amicably, they refused to do so, saying—"Nec alium deorum hominumve, quam Martem se judicem habituros esse."‖

Cave of Cacus.

The cave of Cacus, that famous robber, is supposed to have stood between the temple of Hercules and the river. According

* Lucio Fauno. l. 3. c. 1.

† Var. Ling. Lat. 5. 3.

‡ It was on the xiv. cal. Novem.

§ Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 13.

‖ T. Liv. l. 28. c. 21

The Aventine hill.

to Livy* he was a shepherd:—"Pastor accola ejus loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus."—And Virgil† makes him the son of Vulcan, or the god of fire:

"Huic monstro Vulcanus erat pater."

But, stripped of his poetical appellation, perhaps Cacus was a blacksmith, who had a forge on the side of the Aventine hill.

Priorato of Malta. No. 4.

Joining to the convent of St. Alexius, I saw the church of St. Mary, belonging to the knights of Malta; which, with its little beautiful villa, is known by the name of the *Priorato*, From hence we enjoyed a most advantageous view both of Rome and of the Campagnia.

Temple of the Dea Bona.

The temple of the *Dea Bona* is reckoned to have stood here: it was consecrated by the vestal Claudia, and afterwards restored by Livia, the wife of Augustus.

Temple of Isis.

Publius Victor mentions the temple of *Isis* on the Aventine hill. The curious table of basalte, covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics, found here A. D. 1709, and published by Ficoroni,‡ had no doubt belonged to this temple. Apuleius§ has given a description of the feasts of Isis, as performed at Rome, and which the Romans had copied from the Egyptians, when they introduced her worship into Italy. These ceremonies were so indecent that her priests and votaries were for some time banished from Rome. Juvenal,|| with his usual energy, represents the temples of Isis as places of prostitution:—

* T. Liv. l. 1. c. 7. † Æn. 8. v. 198. ‡ Vest di Roma, l. 1. c. 12.
§ Lib. 11 || Satyr. 6. v. 488.

——"Jamque expectatur in hortis,
Aut apud Isiacæ potius sacraria lenæ."

3. *The Aventine hill.*

In a vineyard, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, near to the church of St. Prisca, I observed some ancient walls, ornamented with niches, which some antiquaries reckon to have been part of the *Atrium Libertatis*.

Atrium Libertatis. No. 5.

I shall now examine the ground to the west of the hill.

Below the Aventine hill, along the side of the river, were the salt works, public granaries and magazines of different kinds. Some vestiges of these buildings still remain. Perhaps they were some of those magazines erected by Alexander Severus, where creditors might safely deposit the pledges of their debtors. For by so doing, if any accident happened to the pledge, the loss fell on the debtor, and the creditor had still his personal action against him for the value.* This appears to have been the port where ships unloaded their cargoes; for many columns and fragments of precious marbles have been found here: insomuch that the modern Romans call it *la marmorata*.†

Magazines and granaries. No. 6.

Behind these buildings, on the plain, is *Monte Testaccio*, or

Monte Testaccio.

* This is clearly pointed out, Cod. l. 4. tit. 24. sect. 9.—Pignus in bonis debitoris permanere, ideoque ipsi perire in dubium non venit. Cum igitur adseveras in horreis pignora deposita, consequens est, secundum jus perpetuum pignoribus debitori pereuntibus (si tamen in horreis, quibus et alii solebant publice uti, res depositæ sint) personalem actionem debiti reposcendi causa integram te habere."

† Ficoroni, Vest. di Roma, l. 1. c. 22.

3. *The Aventine hill.*

Mons Testaceus, or *Doliolum*. This is a very extraordinary artificial hill, made up of broken pots, bricks, and all sorts of potter's ware. It is about two hundred palms high; its greatest breadth is two hundred and forty palms; and its circumference five hundred and ninety paces. I find no mention made of this hill by ancient authors.* The antiquaries have assigned different reasons how it came to be formed. The most probable one is, that it had been the potters' field, whose broken pots, &c. have, in process of time, formed a great part of this hill; and which has been increased by the rubbish brought from the buildings in the neighbourhood. Cellars, surprisingly cold, have been cut out of this hill, where the Romans keep large quantities of wine. Some have ascribed this great cold to the wind playing through the vacuities or crevices of the pots :† and others to particular salts in this ground, with which it is impregnated: salts, perhaps, not peculiar to this spot, but distilled from the pots, bricks, &c. This curious subject surely deserves to be attentively examined by the naturalists. In the mean time I shall beg leave to subjoin some thermometrical observations, made in one of these cellars, which may throw some light on this subject.

Cellars remarkably cold.

* In a lease of a vineyard, A. D. 1256, published by Nerini (de Templo S. Alexii, p. 488.) this hill is called *Mons de Palio*. Because the races, named *Corsa del Palio*, were run here, till Paul 2d built the palace of St. Mark, from which time these diversions have been exhibited, during the last eight days of the Carnival, in the street from thence called *il Corso*.

† M. de Saussure ascribes this cold to a current of air, like that which issues from the grottos at Cesi, called *bocchi dei venti*. Letter to Sir William Hamilton, K. B. published in the Journal de Physique, Janvier, 1776.

August 26th, 1762.

3. *The Aventine hill.*

A thermometer divided, according to the scale of M. de Reaumure, being taken into one of the cellars, under *Monte Testaccio*, the mercury, in the several stations, to which it was removed, stood at the underwritten degrees.

Degrees above the freezing point.

The thermometer being placed at the entrance of the cellar, within the arch, and resting on the ground, the mercury stood at - - - - - - - - 12

In the same place, the thermometer being suspended about four feet from the ground, it was at - - - 13

In the same place, but suspended from the top of the arch, it marked - - - - - - - - 15

The thermometer being placed within the vault, about half way from the door-way to the farther extremity, and suspended about seven feet high, the mercury stood at 15

In the same place, on the ground - - - - 11

The thermometer being removed to the farthest extremity of the cave, and suspended as before - - - 13

In the same place, on the ground - - - - 10

N. B. This is the temperature of the cave of the observatory at Paris.

The mercury, when the thermometer was carried into the open air, but in the shade, was at - - - - 21

And when placed in the sun, but exposed to a brisk wind, it was at - - - - - - 25

The mean heat of Rome is about 12° 5

Paris - - 9 1

London - 8 6

3. *The Aventine hill.*

From these several observations it appears, first, that the greatest degree of cold in the cellar is nearest the ground. And,

2dly, That the cold diminishes the nearer you approach to the entrance.

From hence it seems natural to conclude,

First, that the cold in the cellar does not proceed from any cold air being introduced, or filtered through innumerable crevices, as has been imagined; because in that case the cold would certainly be more sensible at the first discharge from them, that is at the top of the vault, whereas it is indeed there in a less degree than below.

Secondly, that the cold, proceeding only from an exclusion of the warmer air, is greater at the farther distance from the door, because some warmer air must enter there, and loses its degree of warmth as it advances into the cellar.

Thirdly, that the sensible stream of cold, which is so remarkable at the entrance of the cellar, and even at some distance from it, does not proceed from any current of air passing *through the cellar*, from the insterstices abovementioned, but is really no more than the volume of cold air, which was in the cellar, forcing its way from thence by the bottom of the opening of the door, and driving before it the warmer exterior air, which being lighter, must yield to its effort: whilst

on the contrary this latter, to replace the vacuum, which would otherwise remain in the cellar, flows into it, by the upper part of the opening. 3. *The Aventine hill.*

That these two currents are real, seems natural to imagine, both from the difference of the temperature of the air, in the several heights, as mentioned in the observations made at the door; and even from the sensation of an observer, standing there, who will feel the cold far more sharp on his legs than upwards.

And that two such currents of the same fluid, in the same opening, may subsist, is demonstrable to any one who will make the experiment, by placing a lighted candle in the door-way between the two rooms, where the air is warmed in different degrees. The flame will be seen to incline towards the warmer room, when placed at the bottom of the door-way; and, on the contrary, will tend to the cooler, when placed towards the top; which can proceed from nothing else but the force of the stream of air, which carries the flame with it: that from the colder room, being heavier, takes the lower part, whilst the lighter floats at the top, and passes into the room which the other has abandoned. And this effect will continue to be observable till the temperature of the two rooms become equal, which it will in some little time do; the warm and cold air mixing, in the nature of all fluids, and forming a degree of temperature equal to half the sum of the two when separate. Thus supposing the warmer room to be heated to forty degrees, and the colder to twenty only; the two being laid

3. *The Aventine hill.*

together, the temperature will appear, after some reasonable time, to be thirty degrees.

Caracalla's baths.

On the plain below the Aventine, and opposite to the Celian hills, are the remains of Antoninus Caracalla's baths.

General remarks on bathing.

Bathing was long practised by all the eastern nations. They considered it as an act of religion, as well as tending to the preservation of health. They reckoned it a profanation to sacrifice to their gods till they had purified themselves by bathing. The introduction of the Christian religion seems to have discouraged the use of public bathing: because it did not admit the ablution of the body as a means to purify the soul. Besides, continency having become a virtue, Christianity proscribed every thing offensive to it. Nor do I find that any public baths were built at Rome, from the time that Christianity became the established religion of the empire. Such was the light in which the primitive Christians considered promiscuous bathing.

Introduction of baths.

Before Asiatic luxury was known at Rome, the Romans had no other baths than the Tiber, which served to wash off the dust and sweat they contracted in their manly exercises, in the *Campus Martius*. Baths were long confined to the rich. It was only in the time of the emperors that these magnificent buildings, called *thermæ*, were erected for public use. Vitruvius, who wrote under Augustus, did not live to see these *thermæ*, and has therefore only described to us the Grecian *palæstræ*, or *gymnasia*; whereas the former seem to have

been an improvement on the latter, and were calculated as well for pleasure as use, and for the exercises of the mind as well as of the body. 3. *The Aventine hill.*

The *thermæ*, besides the different baths properly so called, contained not only places necessary for the pentathlic games, viz. leaping, running, throwing the disk, darting, wrestling, and boxing;* but likewise for the more gentle exercises of the ball, and walking, whether in the sun or shade. Here too the learned found books, and convenient buildings in which they assembled, to read their compositions; harangue, dispute, and instruct the youth. Horace,† indeed, who never recited his works but to his friends, and that even with reluctancy, condemns the vanity of those poets, who used to repeat theirs in the public forum and baths:— The Roman thermæ.

"Non recito cuiquam, nisi amicis, idque coactus;
Non ubivis, coramve quibuslibet, in medio qui
Scripta foro recitent, sunt multi; quique lavantes:
Suave locus voci resonat conclusus."

Although bathing was prescribed by physicians for medicinal purposes, yet the principal use of the baths was to clean the body, after exercise and before supper; which was the

* Besides the simple pentathlic games, the ancients had two others more violent formed out of them, viz. the *pancratium*, which was composed of wrestling and boxing, and the *pentathlon*, in which the whole of these exercises were united. These two were a severe study, and were commonly practised by professed gladiators.

† L. 1. sat. 4. v. 74.

3. *The Aventine hill.*

more necessary, as the old Romans made little use of linen next their skin. Besides, bathing removed lassitude from the body, and disposed the mind to enjoy the pleasures of their convivial entertainments.

Expence of bathing.

The common expence of bathing seems to have been a *quadrans*, the fourth of an *as*, which is about our halfpenny. Hence the lowest of the people could easily afford this expence. In the time of mourning only, whether private or public, they abstained from the pleasure of bathing: the words *squalor* and *sordes* were therefore used for mourning. Boys, till the age of puberty, seem to have been bathed gratis:

"Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur."*

The rich, indeed, had their baths tinged with saffron and odoriferous herbs; and after bathing, had their bodies rubbed with oils and ointments of an incredible value. These oils no doubt softened the skin, and made it firmer, as well as more pliable.

Time of bathing.

When the baths were sufficiently heated, which was done at a particular hour in the evening, a bell was rung to advertise those who intended to use them; otherwise they could have cold water only:

"Redde pilam: sonat æs thermarum. Ludere pergis?
Virgine vis sola lotus abire domum."†

* Juven. Sat. 2. v. 152.

† Mart. l. 14. ep. 165.

The baths were under the inspection of officers, authorized by the magistrates to regulate their police. They had servants under them, called *balnearii servi*, to whom various offices were assigned. Some had the care of the furnaces, others of the dressing rooms, the bathing rooms, &c. If bathers employed any of these public servants, to rub them down in the bath, with the instrument named *strigilis*, to anoint them with oil, or to give them any other assistance, they rewarded them for it; because those who paid the *quadrans* only were entitled to no service.

5. The Aventine hill. Police of the baths.

Modesty did not permit the two sexes to bathe together. Hence one side of the baths was allotted to the men, and the other to the women. However, we find that Agrippina, the mother of Nero, caused baths to be built solely for the use of women.* And such was the regard the Romans, during the republic, paid to modesty, that a father did not bathe with his son, when he came to the age of puberty, nor a father-in-law with his son-in-law.† Indeed in the licentious times of the empire, men and women seem to have bathed promiscuously together. But this indecency was always forbid by the good emperors, particularly by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, under the penalty of divorce, and confiscation of their portions.

Baths for the different sexes.

* See Viminal hill.

† "Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum soceris generi non lavantur. Retinenda est igitur hujus generis verecundia, præsertim natura ipsa magistra et duce." Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 35.—Vale Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1. sect. 7.

3. *The Aventine hill.* The structure of baths to be afterwards examined.

As the Roman baths resembled each other in their principal parts, I shall not enter into a detail of these of Caracalla, as I intend to examine particularly those of Dioclesian, whose remains are the most considerable, and which I flatter myself will give a distinct idea of this curious subject.

Magnificence of these baths.

The baths of Caracalla were reckoned amongst the most magnificent of these buildings. According to Eusebius, they were built in the fourth year of his reign, and in the 217th of the Christian æra. He did not, however, build the porticos: these were begun by Decius, and finished by Alexander Severus. Although now in ruins, they still demonstrate their former grandeur. We are told, that there were one thousand six hundred marble seats, besides the *labra*, or bathing tubs of granite and porphyry, for the use of those who bathed here. Two of these *labra*, of granite, serve for the fountains in the *piazza Farnese*.

The Farnese Hercules.

Many of the fine pieces of sculpture, preserved in the Farnese palace,* had ornamented Caracalla's baths: particularly the celebrated Hercules. This statue is well known by the name of the Farnesian Hercules. It is the work of Glycon, the Athenian,† and is justly reckoned a model of masculine strength. Horace‡ might have alluded to this statue, when he says —

"Invicti membra Glyconis."

* These noble works of art, I am informed, are now carried to Naples, by order of his Sicilian majesty.

† It is inscribed—ΓΛΥΚΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ.

‡ Epist. 1. v. 30.

Hercules is here resting from one of his labours. Whether the sculptor could have represented strength better in action, than he has done at rest, as remarked by a very ingenious and eloquent writer,* I shall not decide. Strength is here wonderfully expressed: and perhaps it shows more genius in the artist to have done so at rest than in action. Permit me only to observe, that this statue was not intended to have been placed, as it now is, on the ground, and consequently level with the eye. It should have been placed in an open gallery, perhaps thirty or thirty-five feet high, and seen from the street, or from a court. This is evident from the muscles of the breast and belly being so much swelled; but which would appear in their just proportion were they thus viewed: whereas the muscles of the back part of the statue, which were to be seen near, by those who passed along the gallery, are in their natural state, and not exaggerated like those in front. The position of the head, bending forward, adds weight to this observation. Had a modern but inaccurate traveller† adverted to this circumstance, he might, without blaming the great artist, have easily accounted for the disproportion of the muscles, of the back and fore parts, of this noble statue. Few of the ancient statues are preserved entire. Thus the legs of this Hercules are restored by Guglielmo della Porta: and though the real ones were afterwards found, and which, it is said, are now at the villa Borghese, the modern were so well proportioned and executed, that Michael Angelo Buonaroti

3. The Aventine Hill.

* Dr. Moore's View of Manners in Italy, Vol. 2. p. 11.

† Sharp's Letters from Italy. Letter 13.

3. *The Aventine hill.*

advised not to change them; in order to show, perhaps, the merit of modern artists.*

The Toro.

Here too stood the surprising group, now at the Farnese palace, cut out of one piece of marble, called the *Toro*, which was brought from Rhodes, and is the work of Apollonius and Tauriscus, renowned sculptors.† It had belonged to Asinius Pollio. It represents Amphion and Zethus, the sons of Lycus king of Thebes, tying Dircé to the horns of a furious bull, in order to precipitate her into the sea; in revenge for having enticed their father to marry her, and to divorce their mother Antiopa. This vast group has indeed been repaired by Giovanni Battista Bianchi; and many parts of it are modern: viz. the head and arms of Dircé; the head and arms of Antiopa; the statues of Amphion and Zethus, except the bodies and one leg; and the legs and cord of the bull. But it is easy to distinguish the superior merit of what is antique, from the modern additions, in this wonderful monument.

* Before this statue was carried to Naples, the modern legs were taken away, and replaced by its own ancient ones; which being of uniform style of sculpture with the whole, adds, I am told, to its beauty, and does not justify the partial opinion of the great modern artist.

† Plin. l. 36. c. 5.—"Zethus et Amphion ac Dircé et taurus, vinculumque, ex eodem lapide, Rhodo advecta, opera Apollonii, et Taurisci. Parentum ii certamen de se fecere: Menecratem videri professii, sed esse naturalem Artemidorum."—That is, they were brothers, the sons of Artemidorus, and scholars of Menecrates.

IV. THE CELIAN HILL.

The *Celian hill* is long and narrow. It extends from the south side of the *Colosseo* to the gate of St. John. It is bounded on the north by the valley that separates it from the Esquiline hill; on the west, south, and east, by the valley that lies between it and the Aventine hill and the city walls. See Celian hill. pl. III.

This hill was formerly called *Querquetulanus* from the number of oaks (*quercus*) that grew here. But it was afterwards named *Cælius*, from Cæles Vibenna, an Hetruscan leader, who settled on it with his men, whom he brought to assist the Romans. A fire that happened on this hill, in the time of Tiberius, had almost given it the name of Augustus: because a statue of Tiberius, placed in the house of Junius, a senator, was respected by the flames, when every thing else was consumed.*

The road up to the *Celian hill*, from the side opposite to the *Palatine*, is perhaps the same as formerly. It was called *Clivus Scauri*. Clivus Scauri. No. 1.

On the right hand of this road, the Anician family had a house, in which Gregory, named the Great, son of Gordianus Anicius and St. Silvia, was born.† He converted this house into a convent, about the year 573 of the christian æra, and Anician family. No. 2. St. Gregory.

* Tacitus, Ann. l. d. c. 64, 65.

† Vita di S. Silvia, per Alberto Cassio.

4. *The Celian hill.*

dedicated it to St. Andrew. The monks, however, of the middle age, changed its name, and gave it that of its founder, St. Gregory.

St. John and Paul. No. 3.

On the left hand of the same road, is the church dedicated to the two brothers John and Paul, which is said to have been their own house, in which they were put to death, by order of Julian the Apostate. Under the steeple of this convent, and running along the garden towards the Colosseo, I saw the remain of a noble portico. This is commonly called the *Curia* of Tullus Hostilius. We have only to observe the Doric and Corinthian architecture with which it is ornamented, to pronounce that it is not a work of the kings, who knew only the simple Tuscan. The antiquaries would have gained more credit had they made it the house of Vectilianus, to which Commodus retired, and where he was suffocated by the gladiator Narcissus.* Alberto Cassio,† having carefully examined this portico, is of opinion that it is one side of a parallelogram which had been a reservoir of water, erected by Vespasian for the use of his amphitheatre. He even gives us a calculation of the quantity of water it could have contained. The amphitheatre, no doubt, was often used as a *naumachia*, much water was therefore necessary for that purpose. Titus, who finished the amphitheatre begun by his father, among the shows he exhibited there, gave naval combats.‡ On the contrary, Piranesi calls this ruin the *Nympheum* of Nero; and, from his inventive genius, he has traced a very elegant plan

A remarkable portico. No. 4.

* Lampridius in Commod.

† Corso dell' acque, part 2.

‡ Dion. Cas. l. 66.

of it.* Such is the uncertainty that often attends the study of the Roman antiquities! 4. *The Celian hill.*

On the *Celian hill* many remains of aqueducts are to be seen. Before the time of Nero, this hill was watered by the Martian, Julian, and Tepulan aqueducts. But in order to supply his *golden-house* more plentifully with water, he brought the *aqua Claudia* along this hill. The aqueducts, near to the church of St. Stephen, are no doubt part of this work of Nero. They had been repaired by different emperors, particularly by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, as appears from inscriptions. It is probable, indeed, that Caracalla continued a branch of this aqueduct, from the church of St. Stephen, where Nero's arches ended, to his baths below the Aventine hill. Aqueducts. No. 5.

Of the antiquities to be seen on this hill, the church of St. Stephen, from its figure called *in rotondo*, is the most remarkable. This ancient building seems to have been converted into a Christian church by Pope Simplicius, who reigned from A. D. 464 to 483. Many of the antiquaries, without examination, copying one another, call this the temple of Faunus, the same as the Grecian Pan. It is not probable that so large a building should have been erected to a rustic deity. Frontinus,† describing the aqueduct brought along this hill by Nero, says—"sed postquam Nero imperator Claudiam, opere arcuato *altius* exceptam, usque *ad templum Divi Claudii* per- Temple of Claudius. No. 6.

* Ant. Rom. Tome 1. tav. 41.

† De aquæductibus, art 76. p. 145. ed. Poleni, 1722. 4to.

4. *The Celian hill.*

duxit, ut inde distribueretur, priores non ampliatæ, [the Martian and Julian] sed omissæ sunt: nulla enim castella adjecit, sed iisdem usus est, quorum, quamvis mutata aqua, vetus appellatio mansit."—Now, as it is found, upon an accurate survey, that these arches extended exactly to the church of St. Stephen, notwithstanding Nardini's assertion to the contrary, we may, with some degree of certainty, conclude that this was the temple of Claudius: a temple which was begun by Agrippina, but destroyed by Nero, and afterwards rebuilt by Vespasian. It has been often repaired and altered, whereby its ancient form is much disfigured; but still the columns that support it are a proof of its former magnificence.

Macellum magnum.

Publius Victor places the *Macellum magnum** on the Celian hill. The church of St. Stephen has been taken, by some antiquaries, for this building. I observe the *Macellum* on the reverse of a medal (brass) of Nero. It is a *tholus*, surrounded with a square portico, in which is the statue of that emperor. I likewise see a building, inscribed *Macellum*, on the ancient marble plan of Rome.† But the figure of this building, as well on the medal as on the plan, seems very different from

* The *Macellum* seems not to have been limited to a butchery, but a general market for every thing necessary for the table. Hence Terence makes Gnatho say—

"Dum hæc loquimur, interea loci ad macellum ubi advenimus;
Concurrunt læti mi obviam cupedinarii omnes,
Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores, aucupes."—

Eunuchus, Act ii. sc. 2.

† Tab. XI.

St. Stephen *in rotondo.* Perhaps the *Macellum* stood at the side of the Celian opposite to the Palatine hill. 4. *The Celian hill.*

The *villa Mattei*, a little to the west of this church, is supposed to have been the *castrum peregrinorum.* It seems to have been here that Domitian built his celebrated *cœnaculum*, called the *mica aurea.* Martial,* perhaps entertained in it by the emperor, has described its situation as well as its luxuries: Domitian's mica aurea. No. 7.

"Mica vocor: quid sim cernis: cœnatio parva:
Ex me Cæsareum prospicis, ecce, *tholum.*
Frange toros: pete vina: rosas cape: tingere nardo:
Ipse jubet mortis te meminisse *Deus.*"

This description of a Roman luxurious entertainment, resembles that of the ungodly given by Solomon.†—"Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: let no flower of the spring pass by us: let us crown ourselves with rose buds, before they are withered."—The *tholus* here mentioned is no doubt the temple of Claudius, as that emperor is likewise the *Deus.* The commentators of Martial, who suppose this *tholus* to have been the mausoleum of Augustus in the Campus Martius, are certainly mistaken, as that building could not be seen from hence. Although no part of the *mica* remains, a church, however, has been built on its foundations, dedicated to the *Madonna*, called *S. Maria in Dommica*, which is surely an abbreviation of *Domitiana mica:* but in later times it has been thus corrupted—*in Domica, in Domnica,* and *in Dominica.*

* Lib. 2. ep. 59.

† Wisdom, ch. 2. v. 7 and 8.

4. *The Celian hill.* Navicella.

This church is likewise called *S. Maria della Navicella*, from a galley, of marble, that is placed before its portico. Ficoroni* supposes this galley to have been a votive offering of some of the foreign soldiers. But the antiquity of this monument may be justly doubted, because we observe modern arms cut on it in basso-relievo.

Lateran palace. No. 8.

The situation of the *Lateran palace* is preserved to us in the name of the church of St. John *in Laterano*. Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, having engaged with Seneca and others in the great conspiracy against Nero, lost his life on that occasion. The love of his country, and no personal resentment against the monster, seems to have induced this virtuous man to associate himself in so dangerous an attempt—"Lateranum, consulem designatum, nulla injuria, sed amor reipublicæ sociavit."†—Hence his palace, having been confiscated, probably remained in possession of the emperors, till Constantine made a donation of it to the church, and built here the basilic of St. John, which is properly the pope's cathedral; for the basilic of St. Peter is only the cathedral of the diocese of Rome. This is the meaning of the pompous inscription we read on the front of the Lateran church:—

"Omnium in urbe atque in orbe ecclesiarum mater atque caput."

The epithet *egregias*, used by Juvenal,‡ when he mentions the Lateran palace, is a proof that it had been magnificent.—

* Vest. di Roma, l. 1. c. 14.

† Tacit. Ann. l. 15. c. 49.

‡ Sat. 10. v. 15.

4. *The Celian hill.*

——————" Jussuque Neronis
Longinum, et magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
Clausit, et *egregias* Lateranorum obsidet ædes
Tota cohors."

House of Annius Verus. No. 10.

Near to the Lateran palace stood the house of Annius Verus, in which his grandson Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was born and educated.—" Educatus est in eo loco in quo natus est, et in domo avi sui Veri juxta ædes Laterani."* As the elegant equestrian brazen statue of that good emperor and philosopher was found near the *Scala Santa*, we may conclude that his house was situated there. This statue lay long neglected, till Sextus IV. about the year 1470, caused it to be raised on a pedestal, and placed before the Lateran church. Here it remained till the pontificate of Paul III. who, about the 1538, ordered it to be removed to the square of the Capitol, where it now stands; and had it placed on a new pedestal, executed by Michael Angelo Buonaroti. It is unnecessary for me to say any thing of this magnificent and spirited statue, which is so universally known and so justly admired. Many, no doubt, must have been the statues and busts of this truly great personage; because, as Capitolinus† tells us—" Sacrilegus judicatus est, qui ejus (M. Aurelii) imaginem in sua domo non habuit, qui per fortunam vel potuit habere vel debuit."— These statues and busts, as well as his medals, which all resemble each other, convey to us an idea of his external appearance; whilst his sublime *meditations*, which are happily

Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.

* Capitolinus in Vit. M. A. Anton. c. 1.

† Ib. c. 18.

4. *The Celian hill.*

preserved, give us the true picture of his virtuous and philosophic mind.

But I shall waste no more time in investigating the situation of the other buildings that stood on this hill, of which there are now no remains.

Mons Celiolus.

There is a narrow branch runs off from the Celian hill, from that part of the walls, where the rivulet *Crabra*, now named *Marana*, enters Rome, and extends to the *Porta Latina*. This is known by the name of the *Mons Celiolus*. Here we find a chapel erected to St. John, on the spot,* *ante portam Latinam*, where he was cast into a cauldron of boiling oil, by order of Domitian; and near to it is a church dedicated to him. From the ancient columns that support this church, and the fragments of marbles to be seen about it, we may conclude that some noble building had formerly stood here. But whether this was the *sacellum* of Diana, mentioned by Cicero,† I shall leave to others to determine.

Martyrdom of St. John.

The Suburra.

The ground that lay between the Celian and Esquiline hills, and which extended from Titus's amphitheatre to the gate of St. John, was called the *Suburra*. It was one of the most frequented quarters of Rome, and is often mentioned by the Roman writers:—

"Famæ non nimium bonæ puellam,
Quales in media sedent *Suburra*,
Vendebat modo præco Gellianus."‡

* This was without the gate, till Aurelian extended the walls.

† De Aruspicum responsis, c. 29.

‡ Martial, l. 6. epig. 66.

Besides the prostitutes, many of the great men of Rome had their houses here, though I could not discover any remains of them. Thus Julius Cæsar, before he was the high-priest, had a house in the Suburra.—"Habitavit primo in Suburra modicis ædibus: post autem pontificatum maximum, in sacra via domo publica."* 4. *The Celian hill.*

* Suet V. Jul. Cæsar. c. 46.

V. THE ESQUILINE HILL.

See Esquiline hill, plate III.

To the north of the Celian, and to the south of the Viminal, lies the *Esquiline hill.* It is of considerable extent, and many were the buildings, both public and private, that ornamented it. Few of these, however, now remain, and the whole of the ground is so altered, that it is impossible to give an accurate account of its former state. I shall therefore only offer some remarks on the ruins still to be seen. Let me begin with that part of the hill next to the amphitheatre.

Titus's baths. No. 1.

Titus, having finished and dedicated the amphitheatre begun by Vespasian, built, with great speed, his baths hard by it.* They stand on the *Esquiline hill,* and many of their ruins are still extant in the vineyards of the convent of St. Peter in Vincula, Laureti, and Gualtieri. From these remains architects have endeavoured to make out the general plan of this great work: Serlio† in particular had done so, prior to Piranesi‡ and Barbault:§ how then could Abbot Ridolphino Venuti‖ say, that Piranesi was the first who gave a plan of these baths? Inaccurate, however, as their plans may be, they all agree in making this a regular building, nearly resembling the other baths. But as I intend to give a detailed account of the various parts of the baths, when I come to treat of those of Dioclesian, I shall not now anticipate the subject. Some

* Sueton. Vit. Tit.

† Lib. 3. page 92.

‡ Piranesi, Ant. Rom. Tom. 1. tav. 27.

§ Barbault, Monu. de Rome, pl. 38.

‖ Descrizione delle Antichità di Roma, Vol. 1. p. 116.

authors have ascribed these baths to Domitian, and others to Trajan. To reconcile these accounts, we may reasonably suppose that these emperors had repaired or added to the baths of Titus. Here were found the two large *labra*, or bathing-tubs, of granite, preserved in the villa Medici. *5. The Esquiline hill.*

A little to the east of the baths, there is a ruin commonly called the *sette sale.* It should rather be called the *nove sale,* as it consists of nine galleries, though seven of them are only open; the other two being filled up with rubbish. These galleries all communicate with each other, by means of doors or arches placed in a transversal line, which affords an agreeable prospect. They are built with great solidity, and the walls are incrusted with a cement of an extraordinary hardness. This building, which is entirely out of the plan of the baths, has no doubt served for a reservoir of water, and not for the *tepidarium,* as mentioned by Piranesi. The sette sale. No. 2.

Adjoining to the baths,* there are some very considerable ruins, which the antiquaries call the *palace of Titus.* As a proof, we are told, that the famous group of *Laocoon* and his sons, preserved in the Belvedere of the Vatican, was found here, in the time of Leo X. by Felix de Fredis; a fortunate discovery, which is recorded in his epitaph, in the church of the *Ara-celi.* For Pliny† assures us that this statue, so much admired when he wrote, stood in Titus's palace.—"Sicut in Laocoonte, qui est in Titi imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturæ et statuariæ artis anteferendum: ex uno lapide eum Titus's palace. No. 3. Group of Laocoon and his sons.

* In the vineyard of Gualtieri.

† Lib. 36. c. 5.

5. The Esquiline hill.

et liberos draconumque mirabiles nexus de consilii sententia fecere summi artifices Agesander et Polidorus et Athenodorus Rodii."—How pathetically has Virgil related the story of Laocoon! He was the son of Priamus and Hecuba, and priest of Neptune. In the act of sacrificing to Neptune, he and his two sons were strangled by two monstrous serpents, in revenge for having sacrilegiously thrust a spear into the fatal wooden horse, consecrated to Minerva, and left by the Greeks; but in which the destruction of Troy was artfully concealed:—

———" Scelus expendisse merentem
Laocoonta ferunt; sacrum qui cuspide robur
Læserit, et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam."*.

It has been doubted, whether the statue was taken from the poet's description, or the description from the statue. The latter is evident, since the artists who executed it lived some centuries before Virgil. For we are informed by Pliny,† that Athenodorus was a scholar of Polycletus, who flourished about the 87th olympiad, that is, near the 320th year of Rome. The poet has not servilely copied the statue: he has given us progressively the whole action. We see the serpents advance gradually: they first seize the sons and then the father: whereas the statuaries, confined to a single point of time, were obliged to make the serpents kill father and sons together. Such is the advantage the poet has over the statuary and

* Æn. 2. v. 229.

† Lib. 34. c. 8.

painter! It is impossible to look upon this group without horror and compassion: we seem to hear their dying shrieks: *5. The Esquiline hill.*

"Clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit."*

Near to the church of St. Martino, on this hill, was found, in the time of Leo X.† the elegant statue, long preserved in the Belvidere of the Vatican, commonly reckoned to represent Antinous, but which the learned Visconti makes a Mercury.‡ Statue of Mercury.

Scrambling among these ruins, I observed the remains of some ancient paintings.§ Indeed, sixteen rooms, or *cryptæ*, long concealed by earth and rubbish, have been lately discovered; and which were ornamented with paintings of various kinds. But I shall not enter into a detail of them, because they are now published by Mirri.‖ Paintings.

Whether Titus's baths were erected in the gardens of Mæcenas, as Piranesi supposes, or whether these gardens, and his celebrated tower, lay farther east on the hill, I shall not venture to determine. I cannot, however, but observe, that Mæcenas's gardens stood in the *campus Esquilinus*, which was given him by Augustus, as well to beautify the city, as to free it from the stench of the bodies of the slaves and low people buried there. When employed as burying ground, this field Mæcenas's gardens.

* Æn. 2. v. 222. † Nardini, Roma An. l. 3. c. 10.

‡ Museo Pio Clementino, Tom. 1. p. 9 and 10.

§ See *Porta Latina*, p. 75.

‖ "Le Antiche camere delle Terme di Tito, e le loro pitture, restituite all' publico da Ludovico Mirri, e descritte dall' Abate Giuseppe Carletti." In Roma, per Salomoni, 1776, fol.

5. *The Esquiline hill.*

was without the walls of the city.—"Puticulus, quo nunc cadavera projici solent, extra portam Esquilinam."*—Now this field is generally reckoned to have lain towards the *agger* of Servius, and the high ground in the villa Negroni. But is it probable that Mæcenas's gardens took up the whole length of the hill? The height of the tower, as well as its situation, made Horace say†—

"Molem propinquam nubibus arduis."

It was from hence that Nero had the cruel pleasure to behold Rome in flames; and, in his actor's habit, to sing the tragedy of the destruction of Troy.‡

Aldobrandini marriage.

Among the ruins of Mæcenas's gardens was found, about two hundred years ago, a picture, probably part of a cornice, representing the bedding of a new married pair. It is preserved in the villa Aldobrandini, and from that circumstance is known by the name of the *Aldobrandini marriage.* It is supposed to express the marriage of Thetis and Peleus.§ Be this as it may, it is, no doubt, the work of an able artist. The figures are elegant, and painted with much freedom: when seen at a proper distance, they produce a great effect. Struck with the beauty of this picture, Poussin made a fine copy of it, which is to be seen in the Pamphili palace. It is likewise engraved by Pietro Santi Bartoli, and published in the "Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum," No. 61.—Bellori calls this picture—"unicum veteris artis exemplar et miraculum."

* Festus. † Lib. 3. od. 29. ‡ Suet. V. Nero. c. 38.

§ Winckelmann, Monumenti inediti, p. 60.

Horace* mentions burying the low and contemptible people on this hill; but which, in his time, was rendered habitable, beautiful, and wholesome:— 5. *The Esquiline hill.* Burying ground.

"Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
Conservus vili portanda locabat in arca:
Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepoti.
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat; hæredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
Nunc licet *Esquiliis* habitare salubribus, atque
Aggere in aprico spatiari; quo modo tristes
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum."

The ancients often engraved these letters on sepulchral monuments, viz. H. M. H. N. S. which they explained—"Hoc monumentum hæredes non sequatur."—That is, these monuments, and the ground on which they stood, should, in honour of the founder, remain always unalienable. But how fruitless was their precaution!

The churches of *St. Lucia in Selce*, and *St. Martino á monte* are built on the ruins of Trajan's baths, or more properly Domitian's: for these baths were begun by the latter and finished by the former, and continued to be known by the name of the founder. In the year of Christ 320, an ecclesiastic council met in these baths.—"Venerunt omnes presbyteri et diaconi omnes 284, intra thermas Domitianas, quæ nunc Trajanas, et sedet in sede sua in eodem loco."† Trajan or Domitian's baths. No. 4.

* Lib. 1. sat. 8. v. 8.

† Synod. Roman. 2. sub Sylvestro.

5. *The Esquiline hill.* Temple of Juno. No. 5.

The elegant church of *St. Maria maggiore* is reckoned to be built on the ruins of a temple of Juno. When Benedict XIV. caused this church to be repaired, the workmen found, about eight palms below the present pavement, a mosaic one of black and white marble, which perhaps belonged to the ancient temple, as well as the beautiful Ionic columns that ornament this church.

Sacred grove of Juno.

On the plain joining to this temple, probably towards the entry to the villa Negroni, there was a grove sacred to Juno.

" Monte *sub* Esquilio multis incæduus annis
Junonis magnæ nomine lucus erat."*

Temple of Diana. No. 6.

In the convent of *St. Anthony, Abbot,* there is a square building, which the monks have converted into a granary. Many of the antiquaries call it a temple of *Diana.* Their reason for doing so is, because the walls were incrusted with mosaic-work, representing huntings, animals, and landscapes. Little of this mosaic now remains. Two large pieces, however, are preserved in the chapel of St. Anthony, viz. two tigers destroying two bulls; but they seem to be executed in a bad taste.†

* Ovid. Fast. l. 2. v. 435.

† It is to this church that the horses and asses of Rome, and the neighbourhood, are annually brought, on the festival of St. Anthony, the 17th of January, to be blessed, by a priest besprinkling them with *holy water,* as mentioned by Dr. Middleton, in his letter from Rome, p. 141, &c. edition 1742; and which I have seen performed.

Opposite to this church, I could not but observe the *cross* erected for the conversion of Henry IV. of France. It is fixed on a granite pillar, cut into the form of a *cannon*, round the belt of which is engraved—IN . HOC . SIGNO . VINCES. 5. *The Esquiline hill.* Cross for the conversion of Hen. IV.

Near to the church of *St. Vito*, I examined the Doric arch of *Gallienus*. It shows the decline of architecture at that time. It does not appear to have been a triumphal arch; but only a private one, erected in honour of that emperor and his empress, by M. Aurelius Victor, as a mark of gratitude for favours received from them. It is thus inscribed— Arch of Gallienus. No. 7.

GALLIENO . CLEMENTISSIMO . PRINCIPI
CVIVS . INVICTA . VIRTVS.
SOLA . PIETATE . SVPERATA . EST
ET . SALONINAE . SANCTISSIMAE . AVG.
M. AVRELIVS . VICTOR
DEDICATISSIMUS
NVMINI . MAIESTATIQVE
EORVM.

This flattering inscription, the reverse of the real character of Gallienus, may be considered rather as a satire than a panegyric on him.

Five aqueducts passed through this quarter of the city, viz. the *Marcian*, the *Tepulan*, the *Julian*, the *Claudian*, and the *Anio Novus*. Many vestiges of them are still to be seen. Near to the church of St. Eusebio, there is a considerable ruin of a *castellum* of one of these aqueducts. It has been called by some Aqueducts. No. 8.

5. The Esquiline hill.

writers the Marcian, by others the Claudian, or the Julian aqueduct. To settle therefore this controversy, Piranesi* has taken its level, with the remains of the different aqueducts here. He finds that it exactly answers to the Julian, of which he traces the course from the gate of St. Laurence. It was from this castellum that the two noble trophies, preserved at the Capitol, were taken. They have been supposed, by many antiquaries, to be the trophies erected to Marius, on his Cimbrian victory, which Sylla pulled down, and Julius Cæsar restored. Some have ascribed them to Domitian, and others to Trajan. But as this reservoir was built in the time of Augustus, Piranesi reckons them to be monuments of that Emperor. It is, however, difficult to say, whether they apply to his victory of Actium, or to some of his northern conquests. The sculpture on them is not unworthy of the Augustan age.

The two trophies now at the Capitol.

Ludus magnus. No. 9.

In the villa Palombara there are some ruins, which Piranesi, I know not on what authority, supposes to have belonged to the *Ludus magnus*. In the ancient marble plan of Rome, there is a fragment marked LVDVS MAGNVS.† But it is uncertain where this building stood.

Temple, commonly called Minerva Medica. No. 10.

In the villa Magnani, behind the church of St. Bibiana, I saw the ruin of a large temple, which is commonly called that of *Minerva Medica*. It is round without, but decagon within. It is much defaced, and a great part of the roof is fallen in. There is a wall joining to it, which perhaps may have been a

* Dell' Castello dell' aqua Giulia. † Tab. XI.

portico. Here was found the statue of Minerva with the serpent, preserved in the Justiniani gallery. Probably it is from this circumstance, that many antiquaries have given the name of *Minerva Medica* to this temple. Some, indeed, have supposed that this was the temple of Hercules Callaicus, built by Decius Junius Brutus, in gratitude for his victory obtained over the Callaicians, a people of Spain: their reason for doing so is, because of the name Galluzzo, or Gallucio, given by the moderns to this quarter, which they reckon a corruption of Callaicus. But Pliny* places the temple of Brutus in the Flaminian circus in the Campus Martius; Rufus and Victor do the same: whereas they place that of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline hill. From the name Gallucio, others pretend, that it was the basilic of Caius and Lucius, built to them by their grandfather Augustus. But we have only to compare this building with the description Vitruvius† gives of basilics, to conclude that it did not serve for that use. *5. The Esquiline hill.*

In the same vineyard, near to this temple, is the sepulchral chamber of the *Aruntian* family, erected by Lucius Aruntius,‡ for himself, his family, and freedmen. It was discovered in the year 1736. Here I particularly examined the *columbaria*, and the *ollulæ*, or pots, in which the ashes of the dead were preserved. Many of the inscriptions still remain. This sepulchre had been much ornamented with painting and stucco. But it is unnecessary to enter into a particular description of *Aruntian sepulchre.*

* Lib. 36. c. 5. † Lib 5. c. 1.

‡ He lived under Tiberius: see his death in Tacitus, Ann. l. 6.

5. The Esquiline hill.

it, because it has already been done by Russel* and by Piranesi.†

Plebeian sepulchre.

Another sepulchral chamber, near to that of the Aruntian family, is to be seen here. From the inscriptions it seems to have served for the burying place of some plebeians. It is likewise published by Piranesi.‡

Temple of Venus and Cupid. No. 11.

To the right of the church of St. Croce in Gerusalemme, in the garden of the monks, I observed a ruin, which is commonly reckoned the temple of Venus and Cupid. The only reason for thus naming it, seems to be, that a statue of these amorous deities, preserved in the Belvidere of the Vatican, was found here. On its base is this inscription—

VENERI . FELICI . SACRVM .
SALLVSTIA . ELPIDVS . D. D.

Indeed there remains very little of this building, the monks having taken the greatest part of its materials to rebuild their convent.

To the left of the church is the *amphitheatrum castrense*, which I have already examined, in my survey of the city walls.§

Altar of bad fortune.

On this hill there was an altar consecrated to *bad fortune*.—

* Vol. 1. let. 26.

† Ant. Rom. Vol. 2. tav. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.

‡ Ib. tav. 16, 17, 18, and 19.

§ See page 63.

"Aram malæ Fortunæ Esquiliis consecratam videmus."* So far did the Romans carry their superstition! But I know not on what particular spot of the hill it stood. *5. The Esquiline hill.*

Many of the illustrious Romans had their houses on this hill, though we cannot now, with any degree of certainty, fix their situations. Thus Pliny the younger informs us, that he lived on the Esquiline hill; when he mentions the flattering verses addressed to him by Martial.—"Alloquitur musam, mandat ut domum meam Esquiliis quærat, adeat reverenter."† The poet, not to interrupt the magistrate when engaged in business, or in his studies, makes his muse wait on him in the evening, at his hours of recreation, when feasting and enjoying the conversation of his friends:— House of Pliny the younger.

"Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas,
Hæc hora est tua: dum furit Lyæus,
Cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli,
Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones."‡

* Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 25:—and see Pliny, l. 2. c. 7.
† Lib. 3. ep. 21. ‡ Lib. 10. epig. 19.

VI. THE VIMINAL HILL.

The *Viminal hill*, towards the west, begins at the church called *La Madonna de' Monti*, and extends east to Dioclesian's baths. It lies between the Esquiline and Quirinal hills; viz. to the north of the former, and to the south of the latter. It is separated from these hills by vallies, which, though now much filled up, had formerly been very conspicuous. The levellings occasioned by the new roads, buildings, and gardens, in this quarter of the city, render it more difficult to trace the outline of this, than of any other of the seven hills.

Many buildings, both public and private, had no doubt formerly stood on this hill: but the most remarkable seem to have been baths. At present nothing remains but a few foundations; nor is it possible to trace any plan of them.

Baths of Olympias. See Viminal hill, pl. III. No. 1.

The baths of *Olympias* had been of considerable extent, as we may conclude from their vestiges, still to be seen in the gardens of the convent of St. Laurence, and the places adjacent. It is uncertain who this Olympias was; but, from the remarks of Cassio,* it appears she was a woman. The ecclesiastical writers inform us, that St. Laurence was martyred in her baths. He was broiled on a gridiron. But the veneration which the Christians had for this saint, engaged them to

* Cassio, Corso dell' acque, Tom. 2. No. 25. p. 251.

erect a church to him in these baths. It is called *S. Lorenzo in pane e perna.* 6. *The Viminal hill.*

The *Lavacrum* of Agrippina, the mother of Nero, is reckoned to have stood behind Olympias's baths, on the declivity of the *Viminal* towards the *Quirinal hill.* But as I perceived no remains of this building, it is unnecessary to enlarge on this subject. Lavacrum of Agrippina. No. 2.

To the east of the baths of Olympias, is the church dedicated to the two sisters Prassede and Pudentiana. Pope Pius I. is said to have caused it to be built to them, in the baths of their brother Novatus. It is to this Novatus* that Seneca addresses his books *de ira.* And indeed this church retains many marks of its antiquity. Baths of Novatus. No. 3.

So many baths, and so near each other, cannot be supposed to have been public, but only private ones.

I shall now proceed to examine the *baths* of *Dioclesian,* and the *Prætorian camp.*

* Novatus is reckoned by some writers, to have been the elder brother of Seneca: he was afterwards known by the name of Junius Gallio, having been adopted by a celebrated lawyer of that name: he was a senator and proconsul of Achaia.

DIOCLESIAN'S BATHS.

On the east end of the ground, from whence the Quirinal and Viminal hills seem to take their rise, Dioclesian built his baths. Although greatly defaced, there remains as much of them as to enable artists to make out a plan, but not an elevation, of this magnificent building. Indeed from these ruins we find that taste in architecture had not, at this period, declined so much as taste in sculpture had done.

To give a general idea of the extent of these baths, I shall only observe, that on their ruins now stand the elegant church, convent, and garden of the monks of St. Bernard; the magnificent church, convent, and garden of the Carthusians; the extensive public granaries; and a large space called *Piazza di Termini*, which is a corruption of the word *thermæ*.

Dioclesian's baths were not finished when he abdicated the empire the 1st of May, 305. They seem to have been afterwards extended, and rendered more complete, probably by Valerius Severus, and consecrated by the different emperors and Cæsars, whom Dioclesian had associated with him in the empire, to their generous benefactor, and dedicated by them to the use of the Romans. This appears from the following inscription, published by Gruter:*—

D. D. N. N. DIOCLETIANVS . ET
MAXIMIANVS . INVICTI . SENIORES
AVGVSTI . PATRES . IMPERATORVM . ET

* Page 178. No. 7.

Diocletian's baths.

CAESARVM . CONSTANTIVS . ET . MAXIMIA
NVS . INVICTI . AVGG . ET . SEVERVS . ET . MAXI
MIANVS . NOBILISS . CAESARES . THERMAS
FELICES . DIOCLETIANI . AVG . FRATRIS . SVI
NOMINE . CONSECRAV . COEPTIS . AEDI
FICIIS . PRO . TANTI . OPERIS . MAGNITV
DINE . OMNI . CVLTV . PERFECTAS
ROMANIS . SVIS . DEDICAV.

But whether this inscription is genuine, or exactly copied, I do not pretend to decide; as I know not where the original is now to be found.

Ecclesiastical historians* tell us, that these baths were erected during the tenth general persecution of the Christians. The soldiers who had embraced that religion were condemned to work here; and, after having supported that fatigue for the space of seven years, many of them were cruelly put to death. Little did these poor martyrs dream that they were then preparing buildings for two splendid Christian churches.

The names and uses of the different parts of the baths are often mentioned by Cornelius Celsus, Galenus, Vitruvius, and other ancient authors. But as their descriptions are general, and not accompanied with plans of any of the baths, it is not surprising that Baccius, and other modern writers, who have given plans of Dioclesian's baths, should differ in the uses they assign to the various parts still remaining of this wonderful building. Indeed every one who examines them, will naturally

* Baronii Ann. Eccles. Vol. 2. ex Act. P. Marcelli.

Dioclesian's baths.

apply the ancient names, according as his own fancy, or sagacity suggests to him.

In my remarks on Caracalla's baths, I gave some general observations on the *Thermæ* of the Romans, and to which I now beg leave to refer.*

To give, however, a just idea of Dioclesian's baths I shall present the reader with a plan of them, executed with great exactness, and communicated to me by my ingenious and excellent friend James Byres, of Tonley, Esq. to whom I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for the many favours he has conferred on me.

Having often examined these baths on the spot, and reflected on the uses of their different parts, I shall now attempt to describe them, as they appeared to me.

It is obvious that Dioclesian's baths formed a great and regular building; and from what remains, it is not difficult to make out the whole. On this plan, therefore, the parts still existing are marked with a deep, and those destroyed with a faint tint.

The sides of the square of this building did not front any of the four cardinal points of the compass, but were nearly intersected by them.† Thus the principal entry seems to have been towards the north-east, and not far from the *agger* of Tarquinius.

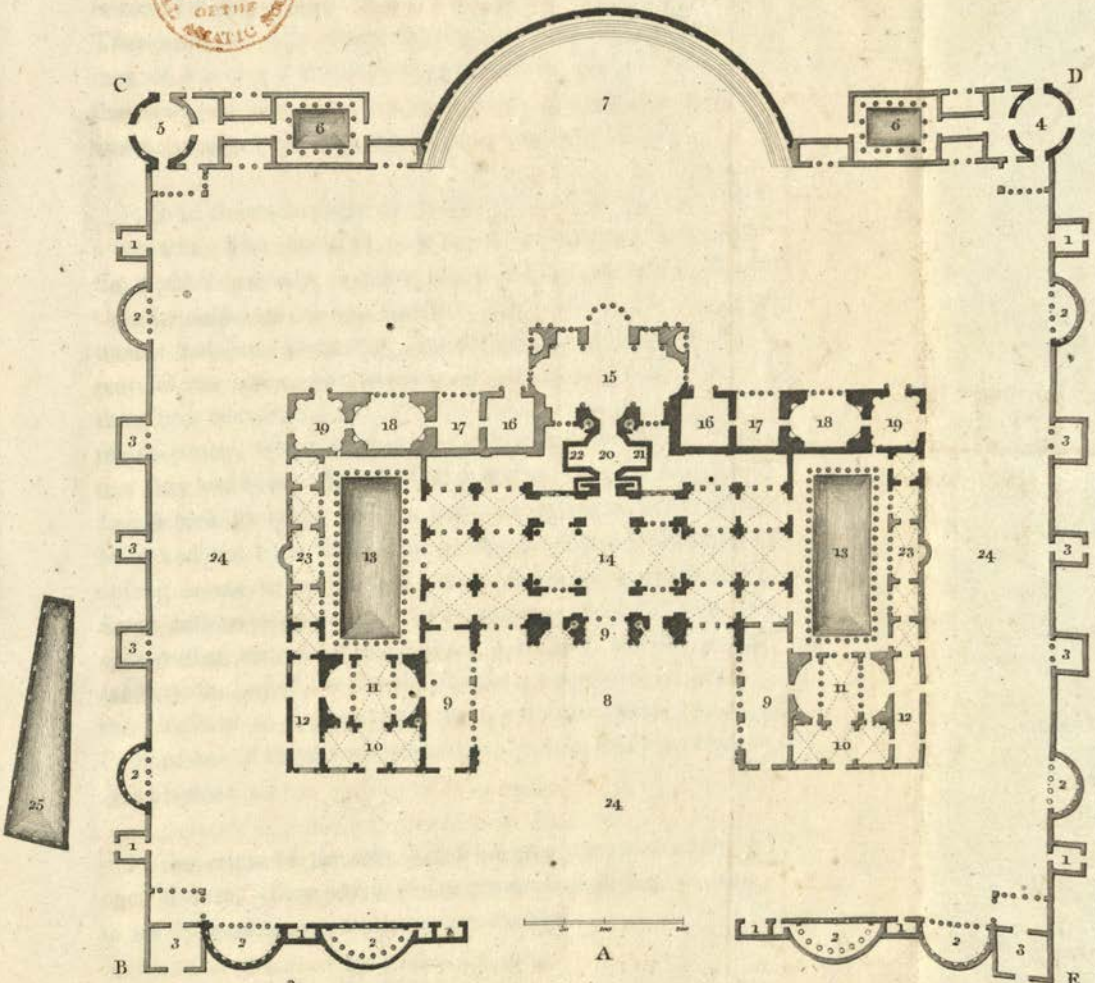
The buildings along the sides BC, DE, and EB, were either

* See page 174.

† See Palatine hill, p. 157.

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ASIATIC

DIOCLESIAN'S BATHS.



semicircles or squares. They were named *exedræ* or *scholæ*. They were the halls where the youth were instructed—where men of learning and genius assembled to discourse and read their compositions—and where probably the officers and servants, entrusted with the care of the baths were lodged. *Diocletian's baths.*

Each of the extremities of the side CD was terminated with a rotundo. The one at C, near the villa Negroni, now serves for a public granary, and the other at D is converted into a church, dedicated to St. Bernard. The interior of these rotundos had been elegantly ornamented, as well as the other parts of the baths, with statues and paintings, though none of them now remain. Baccius* calls them *sphæristeria*, a sort of tennis-courts, where they used to play at ball. But I think that they were too small for that exercise. Besides, a *sphæristerium* took its name perhaps from the spherical form of the balls, and not from that of the building. Indeed a square or oblong seems to be a more proper form for a tennis-court. Some authors suppose that these rotundos were the *laconica*, or sweating rooms of the baths. But these, as well as the *sphæristeria*, I shall, in the sequel, place elsewhere. I am rather inclined to believe that these rotundos were temples. Perhaps one of them was dedicated to Apollo, and the other to Æsculapius.

In the centre of the side CD, I observe the *theatridium*, or open theatre, where people placed themselves in fine weather, to see different shows, and wrestlers exercise.

* De Thermis, l. 7. c. 6.

Dioclesian's baths.

Between the *theatridium* and the temples were parallelogram buildings, which, in many of the plans of these baths, are marked *atrium*. They might have served for noble halls, to contain the famous Ulpian library, removed hither from Trajan's forum. Perhaps one of them was destined for Greek, and the other for Roman literature.

Within the square stood the *natatio*, or *piscina*; the *sphæristerium*; the *xystum*; the *apodyterium*; the *hypocaustum*—the different baths, viz. the *frigidarium*; the *tepidarium*; the *caldarium*; and the *laconicum*; as well as some other buildings, whose situations I shall endeavour to point out.

The *natatio*, where people swam in the open air, was of considerable extent. It was opposite to the principal entry A, and occupied what is now the cloister of the Carthusians. Three sides of it were bounded by porticos, which served for walking places, and for the swimmers to strip themselves.

On each side of these porticos were basilics, or great halls, for public assemblies; and *diætæ*, or eating rooms, where sumptuous entertainments were sometimes given.

Joining to the *basilica* and *diætæ* there was an oblong hall, which might have served properly for the *sphæristerium*, or place for playing at ball; which seems to have been a favourite exercise at Rome, both of the young and the old:

"Folle decet pueros ludere, folle senes."*

* Martial, l. 14. ep. 47.

Immediately behind the *natatio* was the *xystum.* Here the gladiators and wrestlers performed their exercises, under cover, in bad weather. This spacious hall had been elegantly ornamented; eight granite columns of an immense size still support its roof. Pope Pius IV. having given this part of the baths to the Carthusians, they, assisted by the great artist Michael Angelo Buonaroti, converted it into one of the most magnificent churches of Rome. It is dedicated to St. Mary and the Angels. In the year 1701, Monsignor Bianchini, that learned prelate and eminent astronomer, traced the meridian line, which I saw in this church. It is, I believe, the greatest, and most ornamented, with brass and marble, of any hitherto executed. Nor could he have chosen a more solid situation for such an operation, than what these walls, which have resisted the wasting effects of sixteen centuries, afforded him. But it is foreign to my subject to attempt to describe it, or its uses. I shall therefore beg leave to refer the curious reader to Bianchini's own account of it.* *Diocesian's baths.*

At each extremity of the *xystum* there was a *cavædium,* ornamented with columns. Here people might walk or exercise, in the open air, protected from the wind. In many of the plans of the baths, it is called *atrium.*†

Let me now examine the baths properly so named. They

* "De Nummo et Gnomone Clementino," published along with his work—"De Kalendario et Cyclo Cæsaris, ac de paschali canone S. Hippoliti martyris, dissertationes duæ." Romæ, 1703. fol.

† See Introduction, p. 16.

Dioclesian's baths.

extended in a straight line, opposite to the *Theatridium* and the *Bibliothecæ*.

The *apodyterium*, or great hall, where those who bathed undressed and dressed themselves, was placed in the centre of the baths, but projected beyond their line. There is reason to believe that it was richly ornamented; but no part of it now remains. About the year 1750, Cardinal Valenti Gonzaga caused this ground to be dug for materials for his villa, which he was then building, at the *Porta Pia*. Many bricks, and some fragments of granite columns were found. But it had, no doubt, been dug long prior to that period. What I chiefly remarked, for I was there at that time, were flues that had conveyed fire under this hall, to keep it in a proper degree of heat.

On each side of the *apodyterium* were four halls for the baths. Whether these eight bathing rooms were all intended for the use of men, or that one side was allotted for men and the other for women, I do not pretend to decide. Indeed, it is probable that they were for men only; because, before this time, baths, particularly those of Agrippina,* had been erected for the use of women.

Authors, who have treated this subject, do not agree in their arrangement of the different baths. I shall, however, take the liberty to place them in the manner that appears most reasonable to me.

* See Viminal hill, p. 202.

The hall next to the *apodyterium* was, I think, the *frigidarium*, or cold bath; the second was the *tepidarium*, or tepid bath; the third was the *caldarium*, or hot bath; and the fourth was the *laconicum*, or sweating room. Indeed the hall next the side DE, which is now one of the public granaries, bears evident marks that it was the *laconicum*. The same arrangement was repeated on the other side of the *apodyterium*. *Diocles:an's baths.*

The cold bath seems to have been used to brace the fibres, and strengthen the body. The tepid bath for pleasure, and to clean the body. The hot bath to soften the skin, to relieve from fatigue, and to promote sleep. And the *laconicum* to produce a violent sweat. These different baths were used before supper, whilst the stomach was empty. Warm bathing, that is, water warmer than the external air, is a great luxury in hot climates, but in cold climates it is dangerous.

The baths communicated, in this order, from one to the other. Each person stopped at the bath which he judged proper for himself. If he made use of the *laconicum*, he returned through the different baths, and thus cooled himself gradually before he reached the *apodyterium*.

All the *labra*, or bathing tubs, which were used in Diocle-sian's baths, have been removed from thence. But several of them are still preserved as fountains and ornaments, in different parts of Rome.

In the centre of the baths, between the *apodyterium* and the

Dioclesian's baths.

xystum was properly placed the *hypocaustum.* It was the great furnace from whence hot water was conveyed in pipes, and hot air in flues to the different baths. This part of the building is still preserved, but the furnaces are destroyed.* It serves for a sort of *atrium* to the church of the Carthusians. The furnaces had, no doubt, been much lower than the present level of the floor of the church. There was probably a particular *hypocaustum* under each *laconicum.*

Some antiquaries are of opinion, that there were two stories of baths: if so, the under one is now entirely filled up with the rubbish of the demolished baths.

The *conisterium* was probably on one side of the *hypocaustum.* It was here they preserved the sand, with which the wrestlers, after being anointed with oil, were rubbed before they exercised.†

Opposite to the *conisterium* was the *elæothesium.* It was a sort of an apothecary's shop, furnished with a variety of oils, ointments, and perfumes, for the use of the bathers. The Romans, who borrowed many of their luxuries from the Greeks and Asiatics, like them applied different ointments to different parts of the body. Athenæus‡ has preserved to us the verses of Antiphanus, in which these are enumerated.

* Baccius, in his book *De Thermis*, l. 7. c. 9. and in his book *De Naturali Vinorum Historia*, p. 178, has given a plate of a *thermopolium*, to show how the water was heated to different degrees. And Sir Edward Barry, in his "Observations on the Wines of the Ancients," page 161, has republished this plate.

† Of the use wrestlers made of sand, see Lucian's dialogue on gymnastic exercises.

‡ L. 15. Deipnosophiston.

Along the sides of the square, between the *exedræ* and the centre buildings, were broad shadowy walks, planted with plane-trees, which, like a *stadium*, served for exercise, whether walking or running. *Dioclesian's baths.*

In the villa Negroni, beyond the line of the square of the buildings, and opposite to the side BC, I observed the remains, pretty entire, of the great reservoir, which contained the water for the use of the baths.

Thus have I given an idea of the Dioclesian baths, which is as much as their present disfigured state will permit. But, for the conveniency of the reader, I shall subjoin an index of the different parts, marked as on the plan, plate IV.

INDEX.

A. Principal entry.
BE. Side towards the north-east.
BC. Side towards the south-east.
CD. Side towards the south-west.
DE. Side towards the north-west.
1. Lodgings for officers and servants.
2. Exedræ.
3. Schola, or Ephebeum.
4. Temple of Apollo.
5. Temple of Esculapius.
6. Bibliotheca.
7. Theatridium.
8. Natatio.
9. Porticus natationis.
10. Basilica.
11. Diæta.
12. Sphæristerium.
13. Cavædium.
14. Xystum.

Diocletian's baths.

15. Apodyterium.
16. Frigidarium.
17. Tepidarium.
18. Caldarium.
19. Laconicum.
20. Hypocaustum.
21. Conisterium.
22 Elæothesium.
23. Ephebium for wrestlers.
24 Walks shaded with plane-trees.
25 Reservoir.

THE PRÆTORIAN CAMP.

On the plain behind the *agger* of Tarquinius, and to the east of the Viminal and Quirinal hills, there is a large vineyard, which belonged to the Jesuits. Here stood the Prætorian camp, and not on the *broad summit* of these hills, as mentioned by a celebrated historian.* It was Sejanus, to increase his own power, and to keep Rome in subjection, who advised Tiberius to establish this camp.†

It is unnecessary to say any thing of the Prætorian guards. The power of that body, their influence on government, and their even selling the imperial dignity, is recorded in the Roman annals.‡

The Prætorian camp, though small, had been fortified, and laid out in the manner generally practised by the Romans, of which Polybius,§ in the time of Scipio Africanus, and Josephus,‖ in the reign of Vespasian, have left us descriptions. It seems to have been a parallelogram, and probably surrounded with a double *agger*, between which was a ditch. On each side of the parallelogram there was a gate, viz. the *prætoria* in the front, the *decumana* in the rear, the *dextra* and the *sinistra* on the sides; as we observe in the Roman camps still

* M. Gibbon's Roman Empire, Vol. I. note 5. page 17 of his notes on c. 5.

† Tacitus, Ann. l. 4.

‡ Thus Otho, by means of two soldiers, bribed by money, dethroned Galba. —"Suscepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum, et transtulerunt."—Tacit. Hist. l. i. c 25. § Lib. 6. c. 5. ‖ Lib. 3. c. 3.

Prætorian camp.

to be seen in Scotland and England:* for no vestiges of their camps have hitherto been, so far as I know, traced in Italy. These camps, like regular cities, contained every thing proper to render the life of the soldier agreeable. And as the camp in question was intended to be permanent, we may reasonably suppose that these conveniences were here particularly studied.

The Romans used to erect, in their stationary camps, small temples, probably dedicated to Mars, in which they deposited the *vexilla*, or ensigns, as well as the *simulacra deum*, and *imagines principum*, which were all deemed sacred.

This Prætorian camp of Sejanus was, no doubt, without the walls; but whether it was afterwards added to the city by Aurelian, or by Constantine the Great after the defeat of Maxentius, seems uncertain. It is indeed commonly thought, that it was inclosed within the city by the latter, who built that part of the walls, which projects in a square, beyond the line of those of Aurelian. Here Constantine, having disbanded the Prætorian guards, erected barracks for his soldiers, which retained the name of *Castrum Prætorium*, and of which some remains may be still traced.

I come now to the Quirinal hill; but, the better to connect my survey, I shall proceed directly from hence to the west end of it.

* See the "military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain, and particularly their ancient System of Castrametation, illustrated by Plans; by the late Major General Roy." This splendid work was published by the Antiquary Society of London, 1793.

TRAJAN'S FORUM AND COLUMN.

Though Trajan's *forum* and *column* cannot properly be said to stand on the Quirinal hill, yet as he caused part of the west end of it to be cut down, in order to extend his celebrated buildings, as will afterwards appear, I shall here contemplate this classical spot before I proceed in my survey of the Quirinal hill.

See Quirinal hill, pl. III. No. 1.

Of the various *forums*, that of Trajan seems to have been the most elegant. It was built by the renowned architect Apollodorus. It stood between the Capitol and Quirinal hills and Nerva's forum. It was ornamented with sumptuous buildings: a basilic, a gymnasium, the Ulpian library, an historical column, porticos, a triumphal arch, &c. Indeed this last was taken down, and its beautiful basso-relievos and rich materials employed to erect a triumphal arch to Constantine, and which I shall examine in the sequel. On the medals of Trajan we find represented—his *forum*—column—triumphal arch—and Ulpian basilic.*

The grandeur of the buildings, that decorated this *forum*, may be estimated from the columns of Egyptian granite, discovered in laying the foundation of the new entry to the Bonelli palace, built on part of this *forum*. They are eight

* Vide—" Vaillant, Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum præstantiora."—Vide " Havercampus, Nummophylacium Reginæ Christinæ "—Vide " l'Historia Augusta, da Angeloni, V. Trajano."

Trajan's forum.

palms and a half, Roman, in diameter. A fragment of the cornice of the architrave, which these columns supported, is preserved at the villa Albani. It is six palms high: hence the height of the whole architrave, of which the cornice used to be one-third, must have been about eighteen palms high. This fragment probably belonged to the Ulpian basilic, an elevation of which we observe on one of Trajan's medals.

Although none of these buildings have escaped the rage of barbarous hands, and all-devouring time, yet the most remarkable monument of this *forum* still remains: viz. the historical column erected by the senate and people to the emperor, after his Dacian conquests; and in which the progress of both these wars are represented in basso-relievo. After many actions, and reduced to the last extremity, Decebalus, their king, put an end to his own life; and Trajan erected Dacia into a Roman province.*

Over the door, in the pedestal, by which we enter into the column, we read the following inscription:

* Although the *Getes* were the people who inhabited the country, along the mouth of the Danube, yet the Greeks gave them the name of the *Daces*, that is, the Transilvanians, the Valakians, and the Moldavians. They were conquered by Trajan; in whose reign the Roman empire was in its greatest extent. To the north he added the country of the Dacii; and to the east he added Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. He gave a king to Parthia, who acknowledged the Roman power.

Trajan's forum.

SENATVS . POPVLVSQVE . ROMANVS
IMP . CAESARI . DIVI . NERVAE . F . NERVAE
TRAIANO . AVG . GERM . DACICO . PONTIF
MAXIMO . TRIB . POT . XVII . IMP . VI . COS . VI . P . P
AD . DECLARANDVM . QVANTAE . ALTITVDINIS
MONS . ET . LOCVS . TAN*tis* .* *operi*BVS . SIT . EGESTVS.

This inscription shows, that Trajan had caused part of the Quirinal hill to be cut down to give more extent to his *forum*; and that the height of his column was the measure of that level. The ground, indeed, is now much raised here, the modern pavement being about twenty feet above the ancient; as appears from the excavation made to show the height of the column.

This column stood in the centre of the *forum*, and was terminated with a statue of Trajan, as appears from a medal. Thus it served for a sepulchral monument to that great man; for it is generally supposed that his ashes were put into a ball of metal, which he held in his hand.† But Sixtus Quintus, in place of the statue of this respectable emperor, caused that of St. Peter to be erected on this imperial monument, and which can have no connection with the history of Trajan's wars, there represented.

* The letters, TIS and OPERI, had been defaced in the barbarous ages, and are thus supplied. They had probably been cut out to fix a beam to support the roof of some hut or shop placed against the pedestal of the column.

† Indeed some antiquaries reckon, that Trajan's ashes were preserved in an urn, which was placed in the cell, in the pedestal of this column.

Trajan's forum.

The height of this monument is 115 feet 10 inches English —viz. the pedestal 20 feet 10 inches, and the shaft of the column 95 feet. Eutropius says, that this column is 144 feet high. To make up this measure in Roman feet, the historian probably included the height of the statue, and the base on which it stood.

It is composed of thirty blocks of white statuary marble, which seems to be that of Carrara; and each block forms the diameter of the column: viz. eight for the pedestal, nineteen for the pillar, and three for the base of the statue of St. Peter.

There is a staircase, consisting of one hundred and eighty-four steps, which leads to the top of the column, and which is lighted by forty-three narrow slits or windows. This staircase is cut out of the blocks of marble, which form the diameter of the column.

On the four square sides of the pedestal, I observed the shields and arms of the Daci, the Sarmati, and their allies. They had been copied from the originals, brought to Rome by the emperor, and which he had displayed in his triumph. They are elegantly executed: nor had the sculptor occasion to embellish them; since Pausanias,* mentioning a Sarmate cuirass preserved in the temple of Æsculapius, informs us, that the Sarmati excelled in the fine arts, and in this respect might be compared with the Greeks themselves.

* L. 1. c. 21.

Trajan's forum.

It is commonly said, that the basso-relievos on this monument increase in size as they approach towards the top, in order to appear the same to the eye of the beholder from below. But that this is not so, is evident from the plaister casts of this column; * the general height of these figures being two feet and an inch English.

That the eye might not be interrupted, in tracing the connection of the sculpture, the column is carried up, from the bottom to the top, in a spiral line or screw. Hence it is called *Columna Cochlis.*

Besides the elegancy of the sculpture, executed at the period when that art was in high perfection at Rome, we may consider this wonderful monument as a system of antiquities. For here we remark the manners, dress, discipline, arms, marches, forages, and encampments of the soldiers of that age; the Roman standards, as well as those of the enemy; bridges, passing of rivers, and the form of their ships; sieges, battles, victories, congresses, and peace; adlocutions of the emperor, triumphs, sacrifices, libations, victims, altars, the dresses of the priests, and various religious rites.

To give a proper description of the different subjects, represented on this column, would require a particular work. And

* To be seen at the French academy of painting, in Rome. These moulds, I was told, were taken off by order of Louis XIV. with an intention to have them afterwards cast in metal; and thus to have erected this surprising monument of art, in his gardens at Versailles.

Trajan's forum.

after all, it would be impossible to convey to the reader a distinct idea of them, without engravings. I shall therefore beg leave to refer to the plates, of the celebrated engraver Pietro Santi Bartoli,* who has preserved to posterity so many valuable works of antiquity.

General Melville's Roman order of battle.

The various sculptures on this splendid monument, cannot but convey useful ideas to artists, as well as to antiquaries. Among the latter, my most worthy and respected friend General Melville, whose happy genius embraces the whole circle of science, was pleased to assure me that, from an examination he made, when at Rome, in the year 1776, of the legionary arms of the Romans, cut on Trajan's column, he received the fullest confirmation of the ideas he had formed of their order of battle. The general was first led to investigate this curious subject, from seeing and handling, in different positions, a double-edged, sharp-pointed, short sword, said to be a Roman *gladius*, dug up in the area of one of their *castella*, remaining in Scotland. For he properly considered the *gladius* as the chief offensive weapon of the Romans, which, combined with the superiority of their defensive armour, enabled that warlike people to be the conquerors of the world. He therefore concluded, that the legionary order of battle must have been that which admitted the best use of its arms for offence and defence. From this principle followed, in the general's mind, a system of arrangement in full lines, consisting of three men in depth, placed in so many ranks, viz. the *hastati*, the *principes*, and

* See "Colonna Trajano, intagliata da P. S. Bartoli, e spiegata da Gio. Pietro Bellori." Roma, per de' Rossi, fol.

triarii, with sufficient intervals between man and man: the whole standing chequer-ways, or in a *quincunx*, so as to allow the necessary succession in fighting to the best advantage, and without confusion. This arrangement was equally applicable to two, three, or more such lines, of which the order of battle might consist. The learned general found this order of battle was agreeable to an impartial interpretation of the passages, relative to it, in the Greek and Roman authors: but that it was altogether inapplicable to the several parts of what has been called the *Lipsian system*, from its author Justus Lipsius, who published, above two hundred years ago, a work entitled *Militia Romana*. Lipsius, indeed, is accused by Joseph Scaliger,* to have only copied a prior work, by Patrizi dé Ferrara, viz. *la Militia Romana*, without naming him. But Patrizi having improperly interpreted the meaning of some expressions, in Polybius' description of Scipio's order before the battle of Zama, has erected on them a fanciful and impracticable system: a system, however, which, from the authority of Lipsius, has received a currency, and has been since adopted, with only a few insignificant alterations, by all authors, military or not military, who have wrote on this subject. Many years ago, General Melville was pleased to communicate to me his reasoned system on the Roman order of battle, in manuscript, with some plans and explanations, a work which highly deserves to be published, and which cannot but give great satisfaction to every classical scholar, as well as to military gentlemen.

Trajan's forum.

* "Lipsius libro de militia Romana, omnia cepit ex Francisco Patricio, qui Italice scripsit ea de re."—Vide Scaligerana, art. Lipsius, edit. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, apud Scagen, 1667. 12mo.

Trajan's forum. A building commonly called the baths of Paulus Æmilius. No. 2.

At a little distance from Trajan's column, and near to the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*, I observed the ruins of a circular portico, of brick, of considerable extent. The second, and a small part of the third stories of it, are only now to be seen: the first being buried in the ground, which is greatly raised here above its former level. What the use of this building was, is a matter of dispute among the antiquaries.

It is indeed commonly reckoned to have been part of the baths of Paulus Æmilius: and, from this idea it is supposed, that the part of the Quirinal hill, immediately joining to it, has been named *Monte Bagnanapoli*, or *Magnanapoli*, a corruption of *Balnea Pauli*. In the time of Paulus Æmilius, the luxury of bathing had not then made such progress at Rome, as to have produced a building for that purpose, so extensive as this seems to have been. Besides, it does not resemble any of the *thermæ*, afterwards erected.

Alberto Cassio,* having employed much learning on this article, concludes that it was a magnificent *hen-house*, executed by order of Livia, the wife of Augustus, in which were preserved the race of the *white hen*, which an eagle had let drop into her bosom, as I have already mentioned.† For the empress having, on this occasion, consulted the augurs, they declared the progeny of this *hen* sacred, and that they ought to be preserved solely for their inspection. This superstition, of foretelling future events by the flight of birds, or their manner of eating, was of great antiquity, and connected with false religion and policy: it is supposed that men could not be

* Corso dell' acque, part. 2. No. 32.

† See p. 41.

governed but by deceit. But, so absurd was it, that even Cicero, himself an augur, makes the elder Cato say, "that he wonders how two augurs could see each other without laughing."* *Trajan's forum.*

But Piranesi,† in his ingenious though ideal survey of Trajan's *forum*, makes this circular building a *chalcidicum*,‡ which belonged to it: and, on the opposite side of this splendid *forum*, he places another.

* "Vetus autem illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari se aiebat, quod non rideret haruspex haruspicem cum vidisset."—Cic. de Divinatione, l. 2. c. 40. † Ant. Rom. Tom. 1. tab. 43.—See also an elevation of this ruin, ib. tab. 29. fig. 1. ‡ Vitruvius, l. 5. c. 1.

VII. THE QUIRINAL HILL.

I now come to the *Quirinal*, which completes the number of the seven hills. To the west it is bounded by the *Campus Martius*, to the south by the valley that separates it from the *Viminal*, to the east by the *agger Tarquinius*, and to the north by a valley that lies between it and the *Mons Pincius*.

This hill was long, and of an irregular figure. Its surface was very uneven: it presented many points and eminences, to which the ancients gave different names; but which are now much levelled. The whole, however, was called *Mons Quirinalis*, from the temple of *Quirinus*, which I shall afterwards mention:

"Templa Deo fiunt: collis quoque dictus ab illo."*

But this hill, which was added to the city by Numa Pompilius,† is now known by the name of *Monte Cavallo*, from the two marble horses, which I shall soon examine, placed in the square before the magnificent Papal palace, where the popes generally reside.

Many great buildings, now destroyed, stood on this hill. We may, indeed, still trace fragments and foundations of buildings; but it is often difficult to ascertain to which they belonged. I shall, however, endeavour to point out some of the most remarkable of them, beginning at the west end of the hill.

* Ovid. Fast. l. 2. v. 511.

† Dion. Halic. l. 2. c. 16. sect. 2.

From Trajan's column I went, by a gradual ascent, to that part of the Quirinal hill called *Monte Bagnanapoli*, and came to the convent of *Santa Caterina di Siena*. In the garden of these nuns there is a considerable tower, known by the name of *Torre delle Militie*. Some of the antiquaries say, that this, as well as another tower of the same kind, a little below it on the plain, called *Tor di Conti*, served as watch-houses, in case of fire, to Trajan's and the other *forums* in this neighbourhood. But these towers, though remarkable, seem only to be of the middle age: and Nardini* is of opinion, that they were built by Innocent the IIId. or some other pope of the Conti family, whose palace was in this quarter, and is now possessed by the Duke of Grilli.

7. The Quirinal hill. Torre delle Militie. No. 3.

The Colonna family have converted into a garden that part of this hill, which overlooked the *Campus Martius*, and lies between the pope's stables and the Pilotta. By this operation they have destroyed the ancient buildings which ornamented it; though some fragments still remain. The antiquaries place here the *Senaculum*, where the Roman matrons sometimes assembled, built for their use by Heliogabalus, as mentioned by Lampridius,†—"Fecit et in colle Quirinali *Senaculum*, id est *mulierum senatum*, in quo ante fuerat conventus matronalis."—On the face of the hill behind the Pilotta, I observed the remains of a staircase, which seems to have led, from the *Campus Martius*, to this building.

Senaculum of the Roman matrons. No. 4.

* Lib. 3. c. 15.—lib. 4. c. 6.—See also "Vite de' Pontifici da Platina," Tom. 3. p. 60. ed. Ven. 1763, in 4to.

† Lamp. Vit. Ant. Heliog. c. 4.

7. *The Quirinal hill.* Temple of the Sun. No. 5.

In these gardens I. likewise observed some foundations of a building, which is reckoned to have been the temple of the Sun, erected by Aurelian.—"Templum Solis magnificentissimum constituit,"—says Vopiscus.* A part of a frieze of white marble, of an immense size, elegantly cut into foliages, and still remaining here, probably belonged to this temple, and is a proof of its magnificence. And we may infer its greatness from an entablature, likewise remaining in these gardens, by which it appears that the diameter of the columns that supported it were seven feet English. Here too was found a votive table of marble, preserved in the Colonna palace, on which the worship of Mithras is represented. It is about four palms high, and eight palms long. As the worship of Mithras, brought to Rome from Persia, was connected with that of the sun, and as Mithras was even taken for the sun, such a votive offering was no doubt a proper ornament for this temple:† and it is at least an indication that the temple of the Sun stood here.

Vico de Cornelii.

The Colonna palace, which stands on the site of the ancient *domus Cornelii*, communicates with these gardens, by means of bridges thrown over the road, called *vico de Cornelii*, between it and the hill. In this *vico* were found the two river gods, now placed at the fountain on the square of the Capitol.

Constantine's baths. No. 6.

Constantine's baths stood on that part of this hill, on which

* Vopiscus in Vita Aureliani, c. 39.

† It is published by Vignoli, in his dissertation—"de Columna Antonini Pii" —p. 174.

now stands the Rospigliosi palace and garden, and the great Papal building called the *Consulta:* perhaps they projected into the square of the Monte Cavallo. But as these baths are entirely destroyed, I can give no delineation of them. I may, however, conclude, from the ground they occupied, that they were extensive, and from fragments of painting and sculpture found here, and preserved in the Rospigliosi collection, that they were elegant. *7. The Quirinal hill.*

In these baths stood the two colossean marble horses, each held by a man, which now give name to this hill, as I have already mentioned. They are commonly supposed to represent Alexander the Great training his horse Bucephalus. May they not be equally well applied to Castor and Pollux? On the modern bases that support them, *opus Phidiæ* is inscribed on the one, and *opus Praxitelis* on the other. If these groups represent Alexander and Bucephalus, they cannot be the works of those artists, since they lived prior to the time of that hero. And, wonderful and spirited as they are, they want that correctness of design we expect to find in the works of those celebrated sculptors. We must not, however, examine them too critically, because they have evidently suffered much from length of time, and the effects of the air, to which they are exposed.* Group called Alexander and Bucephalus.

In these baths were likewise found the statue of Constantine, which I saw in the portico of the church of St. John of Statues of Constantine and sons.*

* I am informed that Pope Pius VI. has caused one of the obelisks, that formerly ornamented Augustus's mausoleum, to be erected between these two groups.

7. *The Quirinal hill.*

Lateran, as well as the statues of two of his sons, preserved at the Capitol.

Temple of Quirinus. No. 7.

Whether such personages as Romulus and Remus ever existed, or whether their history was only an allegory, alluding, to the course of the sun, invented by the Romans in after ages, as advanced by a learned but paradoxical modern writer,* I shall not now enquire. It sufficeth to my present purpose that the temple of Quirinus, the name given to Romulus after his death,† stood on the Quirinal hill. Although there are no remains of this building, it stood, however, on that part of the hill, just behind where Bernini built the elegant little church for the noviciate of the Jesuits. It overlooked the valley that lies between the Quirinal and Viminal hills; and the entry to it was in front of the Viminal. It was from hence that the marble steps, which now serve for the great staircase at the *Ara Cœli*, were taken.‡ The senators, weary of the despotism of Romulus, murdered him. But to prevent the resentment of the people they deified him, and engaged the time-serving Proculus Julius to attest that he saw him, as a god, ascend up into heaven. I cannot but transcribe the words which Livy§ puts into the mouth of Proculus—"Romulus, *inquit*, Quirites, parens urbis hujus, prima hodierna luce cœlo repente delapsus, se mihi obvium dedit: quum perfusus horrore venerabundusque adstitissem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset; abi, nuncia, *inquit*, Romanis, cœlestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput

* M. Court de Gebelin—"monde primitif, Calendrier"—l. 2. c. 5. sect 2.

† Cic. de natura Deorum, l. 2. c. 24.

‡ See page 143.

§ Lib. 1. c. 16

orbis terrarum sit: proinde rem militarem colant; sciantque, et ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse: hæc, *inquit*, locutus, sublimis abiit."—The eloquent historian tells us, that it was *ad Capræ paludem* where this scene happened. Some authors place this spot in the Campus Martius, on the banks of the Tiber: but tradition says, that it was behind the temple of Quirinus, in the valley between the Quirinal and Viminal hills: and perhaps it was for this reason that his temple was built here. Pliny, always fond to record the marvellous, mentions two myrtles planted before this temple: he calls the one *patrician*, and the other *plebeian*: and says that these myrtles flourished or languished alternatively, in proportion as either of these political parties prevailed in the state.* 7. *The Quirinal hill.*

The temple of *Salus*, Health, stood near to that of Quirinus, and in the neighbourhood of the house of Atticus.† I cannot, however, point out the exact spot: probably it stood opposite to the temple of Quirinus, on the ground where we now see a part of the Papal palace. The Romans not only personified and deified the moral virtues, but even every thing that was useful. Thus they built a temple to the preservation of the empire, under the name of the goddess Salus. It was dedicated by the dictator C. Junius Bubulcus, on the 5th August, in the year of Rome 451.‡ It had been painted by Fabius Pictor,§ the year before the dedication. This work, The Temple of Health. No. 8.

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 15. c. 29. "et tuæ vicinæ Salutis." Nepos, Vit. Att.

† Cic. ad Atticum, l. 4. ep. ..—

‡ Cic. ib.—T. Liv. D. 1. l. 10.—Corn.

§ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 4.

7. *The Quirinal hill.*

executed by a noble Roman, remained entire till the temple was destroyed by fire, in the time of the Emperor Claudius. It was from this Fabius that the illustrious family of the Fabii took the surname of Pictor. Such was the esteem then shown to that ingenious art.

Capitolium vetus. No. 9.

Numa is said to have built a temple to Jupiter, on that part of this hill called *alta semita*. It consisted, like that on the Capitol hill,* of three chapels, viz. one to Jupiter, another to Juno, and a third to Minerva; and was known by the name of *Capitolium vetus*. If this is the temple mentioned by Valerius Maximus†—"veteris Capitolii humilia tecta"—it had not been magnificent. It is generally supposed to have stood either on that height in the pope's garden, that overlooks the *Strada Rosella*, or about where now stands the Barberini palace.

A nymphæum. No. 10.

In digging the foundations of the magnificent Barberini palace, on this hill, the workmen found an ancient mosaic picture, which represents a *nymphæum*. It is published by Holstenius.‡ Antiquaries suppose that Dioclesian here built his *nymphæum*. But if this opinion is grounded only on this mosaic picture having been found here, it is too slight an indication of it. However, I shall embrace this opportunity to give an idea of these celebrated buildings.

Of the ancient *Nymphæa* we find few remains. Imperfect therefore must be the accounts given of them by the anti-

* See page 146. † Lib. 4. c. 4. sect. ult.

‡ Apud Grævium, Ant. Rom. Tom. 4. p. 799.

quaries. That they were fountains, appears evident from a law in the *codex*.* They seem to have been of different kinds, and appropriated to various uses.† 7. *The Quirinal hill.*

The first *nymphæa* were probably only natural caves or grottos, found in the sides of hills or rising grounds, from which rushed streams of water, and where they adored the goddesses or nymphs of the fountains, who they reckoned delighted chiefly to reside there. Such is the grotto described by Virgil :‡

" Fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum:
Intus aquæ dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo;
Nympharum domus."

2dly. The ancients erected artificial fountains, to imitate these natural ones, which they embellished with statues and rustic ornaments. Such a *nymphæum* seems to be represented in the Barberini mosaic.

3dly. The emperors sometimes erected magnificent fountains, to which they gave the same name. These imitated cascades rushing out of caves and rocks, falling into large basons, surrounded with seats, ornamented with marble columns, and the statues of the nymphs. Here they used to sit,

* L. 11. tit. 42. sect. 6. de aquæduct.

† The botanists give the name of *nymphæa* to a species of aquatic plants, in order perhaps to convey an idea of the nymphs, whom the ancients imagined presided over the fountains.

‡ Æn. 1. v. 167.

7. The Quirinal hill.

and enjoy the cool air in the summer evenings, as people do now at the elegant *fontana di Trevi.** And here too they sometimes supped, and gave sumptuous entertainments.

4thly. Large fountains and reservoirs of waters, but less ornamented, for the use of the people, were likewise called *nymphæa.* And,

5thly. After the Christian religion was established at Rome, it was usual to build, before churches, fountains, which were also named *nymphæa;* and where the Christians washed their hands, before they entered the church to pray.

An inscription, published by Boissard,† may perhaps throw some light on this subject :

NYMPHIS . LOCI .
BIBE . LAVA . TACE .

The following beautiful inscription, on a *nymphæum,* was engraved on the statue of a sleeping nymph. It was formerly at Rome, but where it now is I have not been able to trace.—

" Hujus nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis,
Dormio, dum blandæ sentio murmur aquæ.
Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava marmora, somnum
Rumpere, sive bibas, sive lavere, tace."

* See page 56.

† Boissard, Tom. 5. 98.

This inscription, which Mr. Pope justly admired, he has thus translated— 7. *The Quirinal hill.*

" Nymph of the grot, these sacred springs I keep,
And to the murmur of these waters sleep;
Ah spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave!
And drink in silence, or in silence lave!*

Salust, the celebrated historian— The house of C. Crispus Salustius. No 11.

" Primus Romanâ Crispus in historiâ"†—

having been appointed proconsul of Africa, by Julius Cæsar, returned to Rome loaded with riches, which he had extorted during his government. How different was his just theory from his rapacious practice! What an advantage would it often be not to know the private lives of some renowned authors, whose works we should otherwise read with additional pleasure and profit!‡ The fine house Salust built, and the elegant gardens he laid out at Rome, were monuments of his guilt. Though no part of them now remain, yet as they are often mentioned by the Roman writers, I cannot pass them over entirely in silence. It is true I cannot fix with certainty either their precise situation, or extent. Let me, however, remark, that the antiquaries have not properly distinguished Salust's house and forum from his gardens: they have confounded them: but it is evident they were not contiguous. His house, and what was called his *forum*, joining to it, stood

* Pope's Letters to Blount, No. 14. † Martial, l. 14. ep. 191.

‡ See " La vie de Salluste, par le president de Brosses.

7. *The Quirinal hill.* on the Quirinal hill, near to the ancient *Porta Salara*, before that gate and the walls of the city were extended by Aurelian. It was probably on that part of the Quirinal hill, where now stands the beautiful church, convent, and garden of the *Madonna della Victoria.** Whereas his gardens, which stood on the *Mons hortulorum*, were separated from his house by the valley between that rising ground and the Quirinal hill, and which I shall examine in the sequel. But though his gardens were without the then walls of the city, he might have had a view of them from his house.

Campus Sceleratus. No. 12. The *Campus Sceleratus*,† where the vestal virgins, condemned for incontinency, were shut up alive in a small vault, with a lamp, bed, a little bread, water, milk, and oil, was near the ancient *Porta Salara*. It was within the city, on the side of the *agger Tarquinius*. Nor was it singular that vestals, thus condemned, were buried within the walls of the city: because, notwithstanding their pollution, their bodies were still considered as sacred; and therefore they were not put to death like other criminals, but allowed to perish for want. Although there are no remains of that remarkable vault, it seems to have been about the east end of the villa Mendosa, by which the *agger* probably ran.

* The famous statue of the *hermaphrodite*, preserved at the villa Borghese, was found in digging the foundations of this church. We may therefore infer that it belonged to Salust. It is thought to be the work of Policles. See Winckelmann, Monum. ant. ined. trat. prim. p. 84.

† See Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 17. sect. 7.—and Plut. Life of Numa.

I have already mentioned,* that the temple of Venus Erycina, which was without the *Porta Salara*, before Aurelian extended the walls, came to be within the present gate, on the skirt of the Quirinal hill.

7. The Quirinal hill. Temple of Venus Erycina. No. 13.

In the villa Mendosa, at the extremity of Salust's circus, I observed the remains of a building commonly called the temple of Venus. I shall not assert that this is the temple of Venus Erycina. In such enquiries it is safer to doubt than to decide. It is indeed a considerable ruin, and answers to the place where her temple seems to have stood. But whether the ancient temple of Venus Erycina had been inclosed in Salust's extensive gardens, or whether another temple, dedicated to Venus, had been built there, is uncertain. However, that there was a temple of Venus in these gardens, appears from the following inscriptions, published by Gruter.—

1.

M . AVRELIVS . PACORUS
M . COCCEIVS . STRATOCLES
AEDITVII . VENERIS . HORTORVM
SALLVSTIANORVM . BASEM . CVM
PAVIMENTO . MARMORATO
DEANAE
D. Φ . D.†

2.

M. AVR . PACORVS . AEDI
TVVS . SANCTAE . VENE

*See page 44.

† Gruter. Inscript. p. 39. No. 4.

7. The Quirinal hill.

RIS . IN . SALVST . HORTIS
SPEI
ARAM . CVM . PAVIMENTO
SOMNO . MONITVS . SVM
TV . SVO . D . D .*

Various names were given, and many temples and statues erected to Venus. It was Asia, the nursery of philosophy and superstition, that gave rise to her worship. The ancient philosophers of that country discoursed much on the origin of things, on the formation of the world, on the first principle and vivifying power. They represented the principle of generation under the figure of a goddess, who gives life to nature, and extends her empire over all. Vulgar eyes could not penetrate the mystery, hence they looked on the allegory as a real story, and the ingenious fable, invented for their instruction, became the source of all their errors. They gave a body to an abstract principle, which became an object of popular veneration, and was adored as a goddess, who presided over the reproduction of every being. Such seems to be the origin of Venus. But when they made indiscriminately the application of this abstract quality to both sexes, then the creative principle degenerated, as we find from different names given to Venus, viz. *Vulgivaga, Cœlestis,* &c.

We need not wonder that the poets, to ornament their fictions, should address themselves particularly to Venus. They

* Gruter. Inscrip. p. 102. No 1.

supposed her sprung from the froth of the sea, and, shining with beauty, they made her the goddess of pleasure. *7. The Quirinal hill.*

But, was I to take a review of the innumerable deities adored at Rome, what an amazing assemblage should I find of folly and ingenuity, of vice and virtue, of deformity and beauty, presented as objects of popular adoration! I cannot, however, think that the mythology of the ancients was entirely allegorical. It often consisted of real histories, blended indeed with fables, and embellished with the elegance of poetry. But it was chiefly from the appearances of nature, and from the sublime science of astronomy, the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars, that the poets peopled the heavens:—

"Horum carminibus nihil est nisi fabula cœlum."*

It was after the loss of the battle of Trasimenus, and the death of the consul C. Flaminius, that the Romans vowed a temple to Venus Erycina.† From *Eryx* in Sicily she was thus named. Her temple there was built on the summit of the mountain, and fortified round. Its form is preserved on a medal of the Considia family, which has been published by Vaillant and Paruta. This temple at Eryx, which was not inferior in riches to that at Paphos,‡ is mentioned by Virgil:—

"Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ."§

* Manlius, l. 2. v. 37.
† Livius, l. 22. c. 9.
‡ Pausanias, l. 8. c. 24.
§ Æn. l. 5. v. 759.

7. The Quirinal hill.

Many were the votaries of this wanton deity. Among others was L. Cornelius Sylla, the dictator; as appears from the following inscription, found in the year 1733, near to the castle of Loretino, not far from Monte Verde, in the kingdom of Naples,—

VENERI
ERYCINAE
VICTRICI
L . CORNELIVS . SVLLA
SPOLIA . DE . HOSTIB .
VOTO . DICAVIT .*

According to Vitruvius,† the temples of Venus were generally placed without the walls of the city. The reason he gives for it is curious—" uti non insuescat in urbe adolescentibus, seu matribus familiarum venerea libido."—What a gross idea of a divinity does this convey to us! Temples, however, were dedicated to her, under different appellations, in various quarters of the city.

I do not find the precise year when the Romans built this temple to Venus Erycina, without the Porta Salara. It existed in the year of Rome 550, that is, fourteen years after the battle of Trasimenus: for the Apollinarian games were that year performed here: the *circus Agonalis*, in the Campus Martius, having been inundated by the Tiber.‡ It had probably been destroyed by some accident, since, twenty-one years

* Dissertazione del P. Volpi, nell' Agli Saggi dell' Academia di Cortona, T. 2. p. 177. † Lib. 1. c. 7 ‡ Livius, l. 30. c. 38.

after that period, L. Portius, the duumvir, dedicated a temple to Venus Erycina at the same place.* 7. *The Quirinal hill.*

This temple was held in great veneration by the ladies. They went to it in solemn procession from their *senaculum*, which I have mentioned, on this hill.† The matron, the most renowned for chastity, carried a *Priapus*, the emblem of fecundity, and, with much ceremony, placed the lewd god in the bosom of the mother of love.‡ But when we reflect, that the ancients considered Priapus as the instrument of the reproduction of mankind, we may look on this rite, obscene as it was, rather with the eye of pity than indignation.—Girls, when they became marriageable, presented their dolls to Venus:—

"Nempe hoc, quod Veneri donatæ à virgine puppæ."§

The courtezans likewise frequented this temple: they presented incense, myrtle, and roses to their patroness: they begged she would bestow on them beauty, and the art to please; that, armed with these powerful weapons, they might be the abler to seduce:—

"Sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
Quam jocus circumvolat, et Cupido."||

In the valley that separates the Quirinal from the Pincian hill, or *Collis hortulorum*, the remains of a circus are still easily to be traced. It was probably the Agonal circus, which stood, The circus of Salust. No. 14.

* Livius, l. 40. c. 34.

† P. 227.

‡ Alexander ab Alexandro, l. 3. c. 18. and l. 6. c. 19. ed. Hackiana, 1673.

§ Persius, Sat. 2. v. 70.

|| Hor. l. 1. od. 2.

7. *The Quirinal hill.*

as I have already observed,* without the ancient *porta Salara*, before Aurelian extended the walls. But, as it united with Salust's gardens, on the *Collis hortulorum*, and perhaps was afterwards considered as a part of them, it acquired the name of Salust's circus. It begins near to the temple of Venus, in the villa Mendosa, and extends along the outside of the Barberini gardens. The immense walls and buttresses, which here inclose the Quirinal, seem to be part of the *agger Tarquinius*, and served for the support of the seats of the circus on that side. But this circus is now greatly defaced, much of it having been converted into kitchen ground. It had, however, been richly ornamented by the emperors, who, after the death of Salust, got possession of his gardens, as I shall soon remark.

Obelisk.

An Egyptian obelisk, covered with hieroglyphics, and about the size of the two obelisks which decorated Augustus's mausoleum in the Campus Martius, was found in these gardens; and for this reason it has been called *Salust's obelisk*.† It had, no doubt, been placed on the *spina* of the circus. It could not have been erected by Salust, who died six years before Egypt was conquered by Augustus; and consequently before any obelisk was brought to Rome: it must therefore have been erected by one of the emperors; perhaps by Claudius or Aurelian.

The circus of Flora. No. 25.

Continuing on the line from Salust's circus, I came to the

* See page 44.

† Pope Pius VI. has lately caused this obelisk to be erected before the church of the *Trinità di monte*.

square, or piazza, Barberini. Here the antiquaries place the circus of Flora, of which no part remains. This circus was not the same with that of Salust. The former seems to have been of more antiquity than the latter. It is indeed singular that Nolli, in his elegant and accurate plan of Rome, should have given the name of Flora to the circus of Salust. Martial, who lived—*ad pilam Tiburtinam*—in the *forum Archimonium** —had from his house a view of the circus of Flora, and of the *Capitolium vetus:* whereas he could hardly have seen from thence, even though he lived in a garret,† the circus of Salust; not on account of the distance, but from the elevation of the ground:— *7. The Quirinal hill.*

"Sed Tiburtinæ sum proximus accola pilæ;
Qua videt antiquum *rustica* Flora Jovem."‡

Either the mean manner in which this circus was constructed, or the great concourse of the country people to see the low and obscene shows there exhibited, probably engaged the poet to use the epithet *rustica*. The Romans lumped the shews exhibited to Flora, the amiable goddess of flowers, with these of a celebrated courtezan, who bequeathed to them a large sum of money, to be annually honoured with games.§ These games, performed by naked prostitutes, were most offensive to modesty. The people, however, had such respect for the

* Where the *forum Archimonium* stood, a church has been dedicated to St. Nicholas, called—*in Arcione*, a corruption of its former name.

† "Et scalis habito tribus, sed altis."—Mart. l. 1. ep. 118.

‡ Ib. l. 5. ep. 22.

§ See the history of Flora, in Banier's Mithologie, l. 3. c. 6.

7. The Quirinal hill.

character of the austere Cato, who seems imprudently to have gone to assist at these shews, that the prostitutes themselves would not strip and exhibit in his presence: he therefore retired. This anecdote gave rise to Martial's epigram,* where he insinuates that Cato should either not have gone to such infamous shews, or that he should have continued there, and thus, by his respectable presence, prevented their exhibition:

"Nosses jocosæ dulce cum sacrum Floræ,
Festosque lusus, et licentiam vulgi,
Cur in theatrum Cato severe venisti?
An ideo tantum veneras, ut exires?"

Suetonius† mentions that Galba introduced a new species of entertainment in the Florial games, viz. elephants taught to dance on ropes—"novum spectaculi genus, elephantos funambulos edidit."—If true, what a wonderful instance is this of the docility of these sagacious animals!

* L. 1. ep. 1.

† Vita Galbæ, c. 6.

COLLIS HORTULORUM, OR MONS PINCIUS.

Let me now proceed to the *Collis hortulorum*, or *Mons Pincius*. It was added to the city, as I have already mentioned,* by Aurelian. From the gardens, with which it was covered, it had been named *hortulorum;* but from the Pincian family, who flourished in the low empire, and had a magnificent house on this hill, it came to be generally called *Pincius*.† To the south it is separated from the Quirinal by the valley, which I have just surveyed; to the west it overlooks the Campus Martius; and to the north and east it is bounded by Aurelian's walls.

See Mons Pincius, plate III.

In the frugal ages of the republic, this hill had been parcelled out to the citizens in small farms; but after their eastern conquests, it was purchased, and served for the gardens of a few of the rich and luxurious commanders and governors of these provinces. Its situation was airy and agreeable; and from many parts of it they enjoyed views of the city as well as of the country. The villas immediately without, and near to the city walls, were called *suburbana*, in opposition to those at a distance. Thus Cicero, after his banishment, by which his fortune was diminished, having resolved to sell his fine seat at Tusculum, wrote to his confident Atticus to find him a small one, in the environs of the city; for, says he,—suburbano non facile careo."‡

* See page 136. † See page 43. ‡ Ad Atticum, l. 4. ep. 2.

Salust's gardens.

I have observed* that the house and forum of Salust stood on the Quirinal hill: but his extensive *gardens*, or *villa suburbana*, stood on the Pincian. They were therefore without the walls, before Aurelian extended the precincts of the city. I cannot, indeed, ascertain their exact boundaries; but they seem to have reached from the *porta Salara* to the *porta Pinciana*; an extent of ground on which I now find the villas of Verospi, Belloni, and Ludovisi. The great historian had laid out his gardens in a splendid manner, and decorated them with houses, baths, temples, &c. Here he spent the last years of his life in a learned luxury. But, after his death, the emperors, struck with their beauty and advantageous situation, got possession of them, and, no doubt, added to their magnificence. Thus Vespasian spent more of his time in these gardens, than in the imperial palace on the Palatine hill: Nerva did the same, and died there: and Aurelian, when in Rome, would lodge no where else; and built there an *hippodromus*, called *porticus milliaria*, I think, from the number of columns that ornamented it, and not from its length;† where he daily exercised on horseback. Vestiges of this *porticus* are to be
No. 16. seen in the villa Cesi. In digging in Salust's gardens many ruins and foundations of buildings have been discovered, and many fine statues and valuable marbles have been found. Of these I shall only mention the dying gladiator, *Mirmillo expirans*, that expressive statue, now preserved in the Capitol;—young Papirus and his mother, in the villa Lodovisi;—and Faunus holding young Bacchus in his arms, in the villa

* See page 235.

† See a note by Mr. D. Hume, on his essay xi.

Borghese. I cannot suppose that all these precious statues, &c. were placed here by Salust; many of them must have been added by the emperors.

The Pincian palace, which I have mentioned,* and gardens probably occupied the ground, where now stand the church and gardens of the French *Minimes*, and the agreeable villa Medici, where I have often feasted my eyes, contemplating the many fine pieces of ancient sculpture there preserved.—But I am informed that the celebrated group of Niobe and her children, and some other fine statues, have been carried from thence to Florence, by order of the grand Duke, since I left Rome. Pincian palace.

Pompey the Great, after he had finished the war against Mithridates, and before he returned to Rome, employed Demetrius, his favourite freedman, to purchase an extensive suburban villa for him.† But, from political reasons, this was to be done in the name of Demetrius, and by which name it continued to be called. The philosophic biographer of Pompey does not mention its situation; tradition, however, places it on the *Collis hortulorum*, and extends it into the plain in the villa Borghese. It had consequently stood on that part of the hill that lies between the villa Medici and the *muro torto*,‡ and which is now the vineyard of the Augustan Friars of the Madonna del Popolo. From the summit of the hill, Pompey, to the west, overlooked the Campus Martius, and to the east Pompey's gardens.

* See page 43.

† Plutarch's Life of Pompey.

‡ See page 41.

he had a view of the country. Such a situation had made these gardens be distinguished into *higher* and *lower*. Asconius, the ancient commentator on Cicero, confirms this; a distinction that perfectly applies to the situation I give them. For Pompey, says he, amidst the riots which the killing of Clodius, by Milo, occasioned, retired to his *higher gardens*, with a guard, in case he should be attacked by these factions. —"Diximus in argumento orationis hujus [pro Milone] Cn. Pompeium simulasse se timere, seu plane timuisse Milonem, et ideo ne domi quidem suæ, sed in *hortis superioribus* ante judicium mansisse, ita ut villam quoque præsidio militum circumdaret."*—These gardens, no doubt, had been laid out, by this hitherto fortunate general, with all the expensive taste that riches and luxury had then introduced at Rome. Though the buildings have long since been destroyed, yet I observed, in the vineyard of the friars, an immense reservoir for water, and some remains of aqueducts. These had served for fish ponds and baths; and being placed on the summit, for watering the lower gardens.

* Asconius in Orat. Cic. pro Milone, p. 202. ed. Hackii, 1644.

THE CAMPUS MARTIUS.

Having now examined the Pincian, as well as the seven hills, I proceed to the interjacent plains.

The *Campus Martius* is the first plain that presents itself to us. It is bounded by the Capitol, Quirinal, and Pincian hills, and the Tiber. Although this celebrated field is often mentioned by ancient authors, yet it is difficult to ascertain either the time when it was consecrated to Mars, or its extent. Various therefore are the opinions of antiquaries on these heads.

It seems probable that this field was consecrated by Romulus to the god of war, as a proper place for teaching the youth the different branches of military science; the importance of which he early perceived. Indeed Tarquin the Proud, among his many usurpations, seized on the Campus Martius, and converted it into a corn-field. It was, however, on his banishment, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,* restored by the consuls to its former use. But Livy insinuates, that this field belonged to the Tarquins, and was by the senate consecrated to Mars.—"Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde Campus fuit."†

No situation could be more proper for the purposes for

* Dion. Hal. l. 5. c. 2. sect. 19. † Liv. l. 2. c. 5.

which this field was appropriated. The Romans, after they had performed their exercises here, whether on foot or on horseback, used, covered with sweat and dust, to throw themselves into the Tiber, and thereby accustom themselves to swim, which was reckoned a necessary part of military exercise. Hence Vegetius* tells us—"Ideoque Romani veteres ..... Campum Martium vicinum Tiberi delegerunt, in quo juventus, post exercitium armorum, sudorem pulveremque dilueret, ac lassitudinem cursusque laborem natando deponeret."

Although the Romans had no standing army in time of peace, and inlisted their troops only at the breaking out of a war, yet men, constantly practising military exercises, could not but form at once a regular army. The short intervals of peace did not enervate their bodies, or diminish their warlike genius. Bred soldiers from their infancy, they needed only to be classed into their different corps for immediate service. A hardy people, able to support the cold of the north, and the heat of the south, thus trained to the use of arms, fired with the desire of aggrandising their country, and ambitious of the military as well as civil honours conferred on them by the state, were no doubt proper to be the conquerors of the world. Rome, from her infancy to her old age, was always a warlike nation. She alone, Plutarch observes,† knew not the privilege of age, which exempts from martial achievements.

Before Aurelian's reign the Campus Martius was without

* Veg. l. 2. c. 23. † Life of Marcellus.

the city. Whether he inclosed the whole, or only a part of it, within the city walls, has been much disputed. Donatus confines it within the walls, Nardini leaves the point undecided; but Biondi, and after him Piranesi, extend it to *Ponte Mollé*. Indeed when we call to remembrance the many and great public buildings that formerly stood here, it would seem necessary to extend its limits beyond the *Porta dell' Popolo*.

Towards the end of the republic, and during the empire, that part of the Campus Martius nearest to the city, at least as far as Augustus's mausoleum, came to be so covered with various buildings, that little space remained for the public exercises. It was probably to add these magnificent buildings to the city, and to secure them from hostile incursions, that engaged Aurelian to inclose them within the city walls. The public exercises therefore must have been performed to the north of these buildings, in the field that extended along the banks of the river to *Ponte Mollé*. The picturesque description of the Campus Martius, given by Strabo,* is favourable to this opinion. Here were the green sods proper for the *equiria*,† or horse races, mentioned by Ovid :—‡

"Altera gramineo spectabis equiria campo,
Quem Tiberis curvis in latus urget aquis."

* Strabo, l. 5.

† "*Equiria*, ab equorum cursu. Eo enim die [12 Februarii] currunt equi in Campo Martio."—Varro de l. l. lib. 5.

‡ Fast. l. 5. v. 519.

Piranesi, in his elegant plan of the Campus Martius,* has completely traced all the buildings, which the Roman writers have mentioned to have stood there, as if he had seen and measured them; though, of the greatest part of them, no vestige remains. But this magnificent work, which is a proof of the fertile invention of its ingenious author, will be apt to mislead strangers, and future antiquaries, whilst it must afford many noble ideas and useful hints to artists.

I do not pretend to trace the exact limits of the Campus Martius, or to describe all the buildings that formerly stood here: I purpose only to mention these of which there are still some remains. I shall, however, endeavour to point out the situations of some buildings, which, though there are now no vestiges of them, are too remarkable in the Roman annals to be passed over in entire silence.

Augustus's mausoleum. See Campus Martius, plate III. No. 1.

Proceeding from the Porta del Popolo, through the Campus Martius, the first object that calls our attention is the mausoleum of Augustus. Suetonius places it, as I have already mentioned,† between the Flaminian road and the banks of the Tiber: the historian adds, that the emperor caused it to be built in his sixth consulship, and proclaimed the groves and walks round it to be for the use of the people. These groves extended towards the Porta del Popolo: and the *bustum*, where the bodies of the emperor and imperial family were burnt, is reckoned to have stood on the site of the church of the

* Joannis Baptistæ Piranesii Campus Martius." Romæ, 1762. fol.

† See page 34.

Madonna del Popolo. This sepulchral monument was incrusted with white marble, and, raised to a great height, formed a magnificent dome. It seems to have been divided into three parts or stories. The walls of the first story were of a vast thickness, and in them the sepulchral chambers were built. The walls of the second story were less thick than these of the first; and the walls of the third were still less thick than these of the second. These contractions, or diminishing the thickness of the walls of this sepulchre, had been marked by broad belts, or cornices, that were carried round it, and on which were planted ever-green trees. On the summit of the whole a statue of Augustus was erected. As a further ornament to this monument, two Egyptian obelisks,* of red granite, were afterwards placed here, perhaps by the Emperor Claudius. It is chiefly Strabo† who enables me to give this account of Augustus's mausoleum.—Marcellus, the beloved nephew of Augustus, seems to have been the first of the imperial family buried in it. Indeed the epithet *recentem* used by Virgil,‡ when he pathetically mentions the funeral of that prince, is thought to allude to it:

"Quantos ille virûm magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus! vel quæ, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, cum tumulum præterlabêre *recentem!*"

Though the second and third stories of this mausoleum are

* One of these obelisks was removed by Sixtus V. and erected at the church of St. Maria Maggiore; and the other has been lately erected by Pius VI. in the square of the Monte Cavallo.

† Lib. 5. ‡ Æn. 6. v. 872.

destroyed, yet the ruins of the first, with some of the sepulchral chambers, but stripped of all their ornaments, and the imperial ashes dispersed, are still to be seen, behind the Coréa palace, in the street called *de Pontefici*, near to the church of St. Rock. The space within the circumference of the walls serves now for a small garden, or parterre, to that palace.

Temple of Juno Lucina No. 2.

Juno Lucina was invoked by women in child-bearing:—

"Juno Lucina, fer opem!"*

Ovid addresses this deity on various occasions, and derives her name from *Lux*, because she brought children into the light of the world:—

"Dicite, Tu lucem nobis, Lucina, dedisti.
Dicite, Tu voto parturientis ades."†

She had temples and sacred groves in different quarters of the city,‡ particularly in the Campus Martius; but of this last I can trace no certain remains. Indeed from the name *in Lucina*, antiquaries generally suppose, that the church of St. Laurence, called *in Lucina*, is built on the foundations of her temple. But, if credit can be given to the archives of this church, and to inscriptions there preserved, it was probably thus named from its founder Saint Lucina, who was grand-niece of the Emperor Gallienus.

Obelisk and meridian line. No. 3.

Near to the church of St. Laurence *in Lucina*, Augustus

* Ter. Andria, Act iii. sc. 1.

† Fast. lib. 3. v. 255.

‡ See page 196.

caused the meridian line to be traced, whose gnomon or style was the obelisk, which I am now to examine. Although the meridian line has long since disappeared, yet it and its gnomon are worthy the attention of the curious traveller.

This obelisk is broken into several pieces, and lies in the court of the palace called *del Impresa*, behind the church. At what time, how, or by whom it was overturned, I cannot decide. But, after it had been long buried under the ruins of the Campus Martius, about fourteen palms below the present level of the ground, its pedestal and lower part were discovered, in the year 1502, in digging a ditch in a garden belonging to a barber. But the embarrassed situation of the affairs of Julius II. prevented him from removing it, and the barber soon concealed it, by building over it. In the pentificate of Sixtus V. it was again discovered, but, on the report of the architect Cavalier Fontana, that it was much broken and defaced, he was discouraged from raising it. At last, however, in the year 1748, it was for a third time seen, in rebuilding some houses belonging to the Augustin friars of the Madonna del Popolo; when Benedict XIV. desirous to recover such a monument of antiquity, gave orders to the celebrated self-taught engineer, Nicolas Zabaglia, to dig it up, and to remove it to the court where I saw it; and to ascertain where it formerly stood, the pope caused an inscription to be placed.*

* See Russel's Letters, Vol. 2. letter 52, in which he has given a design of the machine, by which Zabaglia raised and removed these immense blocks of granite.

The height of the obelisk, when entire, without reckoning the ball added by Manilius, which does not now remain, but which I shall afterwards mention, was about 89 feet English, viz.

	Feet.
The shaft of the obelisk, of one piece of granite, inscribed with hieroglyphics - - - - - -	70
The granite pedestal, inscribed by Augustus -	14
And the base, on which the whole was placed -	5
Feet -	89

N. B. The square of the obelisk at the bottom is nine feet.

On two of the sides of the pedestal Augustus caused the following inscription to be repeated:

IMP . CAESAR . DIVI . F
AVGVSTVS
PONTIFEX . MAXIMVS
IMP . XII . COS . XI . TRIB . POT . XIV.
AEGVPTO . IN . POTESTATEM
POPVLI . ROMANI . REDACTA
SOLI . DONVM . DEDIT.

The ancients considered the rays issuing from the sun as so many darts or arrows. Hence the Egyptians dedicated to that glorious luminary obelisks, which they thought expressed his rays, and which, according to Pliny,* was the meaning of the word obelisk in the Egyptian language—"Obeliscos

* Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 8.

vocantes, solis numini sacratos. Radiorum ejus argumentum in effigie est, et ita significatur nomine Ægyptio."—The Greeks probably borrowed the words—οβελος and οβελισκος—from the Egyptians.

Indeed this obelisk is so broken and disfigured, that it will be very difficult to repair and again erect it. The hieroglyphics on two of its sides are defaced: several of these on a third side still remain; but these on the fourth side, that lay on the ground, are best preserved. James Stuart, known by the name of the Athenian Stuart, from his elegant work on the antiquities of Athens, has given an exact etching of two sides, the least defaced, of this obelisk.* The hieroglyphics that remain on them are a proof of the perfection to which the Egyptians early brought sculpture. For this monument is supposed to have been executed in the reign of Sesostris, whom Sir Isaac Newton† makes the same as Osiris, Sesac, and Bacchus; and places him about 1000 years before Christ. But M. Goguet‡ fixes the reign of Sesostris about the year 1640 before the Christian æra. However, it must be allowed, notwithstanding the labours of the learned, that much uncertainty attends ancient chronology, and especially that of the Egyptians. But that the Egyptians had engravers on hard stones, before the departure of the Israelites from that country, appears from Genesis, c. 41. v. 42. and from Exodus,

* Vide "Bandinius de Obelisco Cæsaris Augusti e Campi Martis ruderibus nuper eruto" Romæ, 1750. fol.

† Chronology—Egyptian.

‡ "Origine des Loix," &c. Vol. 2. l. 3. art. 2. *Astronomie.*

c. 28. v. 9 and 11. And indeed the hieroglyphics on this obelisk are cut with so much neatness, that they seem to have been executed not with a chisel, but with the tool of an engraver on gems. These hieroglyphics, although in bas-relief, are sunk in compartments or frames, to prevent them from being injured by rubbing, in removing the obelisk.

I shall not attempt to trace here the progress and various methods of writing used by the Egyptians; because this has been already done by the learned, especially by Dr. Warburton, late Bishop of Gloucester.* Hieroglyphic or picture writing was no doubt prior to the discovery of alphabetic writing, or that useful and wonderful art which paints sounds and speaks to the eye. Hieroglyphic was the first means, that naturally presented itself, by which men could record their ideas. Thus we find it was universally the earliest writing:

* "Egyptian writing," says the Bishop, "was of four kinds: the first, *hieroglyphic*, and this two-fold—the more rude, called *curiologic*; and the more artificial, called *tropical*: the second *symbolic*; and this likewise was two-fold—the more simple, and the more mysterious: that *tropical*, this *allegorical*. These two kinds of writing, namely, the hieroglyphic and symbolic, (which went under the generic term of *hieroglyphics*, distinguished into *proper* and *symbolic* hieroglyphics) were not composed of the letters of an alphabet, but of marks or characters which stood for *things*, not words. The third *epistolic*, so called, as we shall see, from its being first applied to *civil* matters: and the fourth and last, *hierogrammatic*, from its being used only in religious. These two last kinds of writing, namely, the epistolic and hierogrammatic, expressed *words*, and were formed by the letters of an alphabet."—Divine legation of Moses, Vol. III. p. 121.

See "the origin and progress of writing, as well hieroglyphic as elementary," by my learned and ingenious friend Thomas Astle, Esq. London, 1784, 4to.

instances of which are found in almost every part of the world. In Egypt it seems to have undergone changes, at different periods. The priests of that country invented a species of it, called *sacred*, which they and their scholars only could decypher; in order to conceal their doctrines from the knowledge of those who were not initiated into their mysteries. Some writers pretend that the characters on the obelisks are of the sacred kind, and that they convey to us the mysterious doctrines of the priests, and secrets of nature; whilst others contend that they are records of the laws and actions of the kings, by whom they were erected. It is not, indeed, probable that the priests of Egypt would inscribe their hidden doctrines on monuments seen by all the people: these they recorded in their sacred books, kept in their temples, of which none are preserved. But, from Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Tacitus, Pliny, and other ancient authors, we may conclude that the hieroglyphics, on the obelisks, related to the history of their kings. With regard at least to the obelisk I now examine, and which was one of the two obelisks executed by order of Sesostris, Diodorus* tells us, that this great conqueror caused to be engraved on them the number of his troops, the state of his finances, and a list of the nations whom he had subdued. But notwithstanding the learned labours of a Kircher, a Shuckford, a Warburton, &c. it is probable that we shall never be able to explain these hieroglyphics. We want a proper key to do so. The only ancient work, I have seen on this subject, are the two books of Horus Apollo, said

* Lib. 1. sect. 2. c. 10.

to have been writ in the Egyptian language, and translated into Greek by Philip. But so few hieroglyphics are explained in this work, that when we come to apply them to the numerous characters, which we find on Egyptian monuments, we cannot connect them. It is much the same as to attempt to read a language of which we know only a very few of its letters. Besides, this much celebrated work of Horus Apollo has been considered by some learned critics as the spurious production of some Greek sophist.*

An anonymous French writer† pretends that the figures on the obelisks, which we call hieroglyphics, were not invented as writing to record ideas, but as simple ornaments to the monuments on which they were engraven. But this opinion, clearly contradicted by all the ancients who have mentioned the Egyptian hieroglyphics, I cannot embrace. It is, however, a proof of the ability of this author in defending a paradox.

Egypt having been reduced to a Roman province by Augustus, he could not but admire the magnificence of its monuments, particularly its temples, pyramids, and obelisks. Although he could not remove the former, he caused two of the obelisks to be transported to Rome, to ornament that capital of the world. They were the first monuments of this kind seen in Europe. He placed one of them, which is the object

* See "Dissertation on the Arundelian marbles," by M. J. Robertson, p. 185.

† "Dissertation sur l'ecriture hieroglyphique." A Paris, chez Barbou, 1702. 12mo.

of these remarks, in the *Campus Martius*, and the other in the *Circus Maximus*. Succeeding emperors, copying the example of Augustus, robbed Egypt of many of its obelisks; insomuch that authors reckon eight great and forty-two small obelisks were brought to Rome. Some of them are inscribed with hieroglyphics, and others are plain. Many of them, indeed, have now disappeared, but such as I can trace, I shall mention, when I come to the places where they originally stood, and not where now erected. They were of red granite,* (*granito rosso*) and cut out of the quarries near to Siene, in the higher Egypt. Immense must have been the expense and labour of cutting, transporting, and erecting such vast monuments. They have been justly considered among the wonders of art. They are of great antiquity, being the works of the kings of Egypt, before that country was conquered by the Persians.

We cannot suppose that the Egyptians, celebrated for their wisdom and learning, caused the obelisks to be raised for mere ostentation. That ingenious nation early cultivated the science of mathematics and astronomy: the situation of their country naturally led them to do so. The obelisks therefore served them as astronomical instruments, with which they observed the course of the sun; and for this reason they were generally dedicated to that planet.

* Although granite is composed of hard substances, viz. quartz, mica, schorl and felt-spath, yet in length of time, it is decomposed by the air. Thus we find that this powerful agent has defaced many of the characters on the obelisks, especially the sides exposed to the north.

It was for the same purpose that Augustus employed this obelisk. It was the gnomon, not of a sun-dial, as some call it, but of a meridian line, which he caused to be delineated in the Campus Martius. Pliny the elder, who had often examined this meridian line, could not be mistaken in its use. I shall, therefore transcribe his account of it.*

"To the obelisk," says he, "which is in the Campus Martius, Augustus added a wonderful use, in order to find out the different shadows projected from the sun, and thereby the different lengths of the days and nights. To this purpose he caused a pavement to be layed according to the dimensions of the obelisk, to which the shade would be exactly equal at the sixth hour of the day (that is, mid-day) of the winter solstice, and would gradually decrease every day, and then again increase: all which was shewed by rules or lines of brass, let into the stone: a thing deserving to be known, and worthy

* Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 10.—"Ei, [sc. obelisco] qui est in Campo [sc. Martio] Augustus addidit mirabilem usum, ad deprehendendas solis umbras, dierumque ac noctium ita magnitudines, strato lapide ad magnitudinem obelisci, cui par fieret umbra, brumæ confectæ die, sexta hora, paulatimque per regulas (quæ sunt ex ære inclusæ) singulis diebus decresceret, ac rursus augesceret: digna cognitu res et ingenio fecundo Manilii mathematici. Apici auratam pilam addidit, cujus umbra vertice colligeretur in se ipsa, aliàs enormiter jaculante apice, ratione (ut ferunt) à capite hominis intellecta. Hæc, in dies, observatio triginta jam fere annis non congruit, solis ipsius dissono cursu, et cœli aliqua ratione mutato, sive universa tellure aliquid à centro suo dimota, ut deprehendi et in aliis locis accipio: sive urbis tremoribus, ibi tantum gnomone intorto, sive inundationibus Tiberis sedemento molis facto: quamquam ad altitudinem impositi oneris in terram quoque dicantur acta fundamenta."

of the fruitful invention of Manilius* the mathematician. To the top he added a gilded ball, the shade whereof might be collected vertically in itself, whereas otherwise the top of the obelisk would have cast a shadow too broad to be reduced within any rules: the hint of this contrivance is said to have been taken from the sun shining upon a man's head. This observation has not now answered for almost thirty years; upon what account is uncertain; whether, because the discordant course of the sun itself, and of the heavens, have by some means been changed; or the whole earth has been removed a little from its centre, which, I hear, has been observed likewise in other places; or that, either by reason of the earthquakes, which have shaken the city, the gnomon (obelisk) has inclined a little on one side, or through the inundations of the Tiber has sunk down somewhat lower; though to prevent this inconvenience, the foundations are said to have been laid as deep in the earth as the load upon it is high."

Such is the account given by Pliny of this wonderful meridian line; which, from the height of the gnomon, must have extended a great way.

This subject naturally leads me to mention the Roman sundials, and the manner in which they computed their hours, so closely connected with this article.

* Some of the editions of Pliny read *Manlii*, others *Mannii*; or *Mallii*: but the Milan MS. has *Manilii*. Perhaps it is the same *Manilius*, whose poem on astronomy has reached us.

Sun-dials.

On the authority of Varro, Pliny* informs us, that the first *sun-dial* set up for public use at Rome, was brought from Catania in Sicily, by the consul M. Valerius Messala, in the year U. C. 491, and was placed on a column near the *rostra:* but as this dial had been projected for a more southern latitude, it did not show the hours with exactness. However, such as it was, the Romans regulated their time by it, for the space of ninety-nine years, when Q. Marcus Philippus, who was censor with L. Paulus, caused another dial, constructed for the latitude of Rome, to be erected near the old one. But as a sun-dial did not serve in cloudy weather, Scipio Nasica, five years after, remedied this defect, by introducing a method of dividing the night as well as the day into hours, by means of a water machine, a *clepsidra*, which Pliny calls an *horologium.*†

The Roman computation of their hours.

I do not indeed conceive how a sun dial, or any other instrument, could point out the various hours, as time was computed by the ancient Romans. The time the earth takes to revolve once round its axis, or the space between the rising of the sun till its next rising, which makes a day and a night, divided into twenty-four equal parts, we call hours. Now, the Romans divided the day and the night into twenty-four hours. Twelve of these, from the rising of the sun to its setting, constituted their day; and the other twelve, from the setting of the sun to its rising, constituted their night. Thus as the seasons changed, the length of heir hours must have varied. In winter the twelve hours of the day were short, and

* Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 60.

† See Vitruvius, l. 9. c. 9.

those of the night long: in summer they were the reverse. How then could these hours of an unequal length, and which dily varied, be measured by an instrument? I have not been able to discover any method by which this could be done. However, they had two fixed points, viz. mid-day and mid-night, which they called the sixth hour. So that a meridian line would always point out the sixth hour, or mid-day.

Modern computation of hours at Rome.

Neither have I been able to discover when the modern Romans changed this method of computing time. In the course of the day and night they reckon twenty-four hours, which are all of an equal length in every season of the year. No inconvenience can arise in reckoning twenty-four hours, in place of twelve and twelve, as we do. Perhaps so far the modern Roman method is preferable to ours. But the difficulty is, that they do not begin to reckon their hours from a fixed point, viz. from mid-day, when the sun crosses the same meridian line every day in the year. Thus they call half an hour after sun set the twenty-fourth hour, and an hour and an half after sun set the first hour, or one o'clock.* Hence the nominal hour of mid-day constantly changes with them: in June it is called sixteen, and in December nineteen o'clock. To regulate therefore a timepiece, by this method of computing, it must be daily altered.

* To reckon time from the setting of the sun was a very ancient custom: it was practised particularly by the Germans and Gauls; it seems to be connected with the ideas which establish the existence of a *chaos* or *night*, before the *world* or *day*. See "Recherches sur l'origine et les progrès des arts de la Grèce, par M. d'Hankerville." l. 1. c. 2. p. 131.

Arch of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius Verus. No. 4.

The narrow *piazza** of St. Laurence *in Lucina*, opens into the street called the *Corso*, † which was formerly part of the *via Flaminia*. At the south-east corner of this piazza there is a palace now belonging to the Fiano or Ottoboni family. Joining to this palace there was an arch over the Corso, commonly called *arco di Portugallo*, from a Portugueze cardinal who had formerly inhabited that palace. Pope Alexander VII. in the year 1662, in order to widen the Corso, caused this arch to be taken down, and an inscription was placed, to point out where the arch stood. This, no doubt, had been an ancient and magnificent arch: but to whom it was erected has been a matter of dispute among the antiquaries. Indeed, from the remarks of Severoli,‡ it appears plain to me, that it was

* By the word *piazza*, the Italians mean a square, or any place approaching to that figure, and not a colonnade or portico, as this term is generally used in England.

† The *via Lata* led from the Capitol to the *piazza di Sciarra*, where it joined the *via Flaminia*. These two roads, thus united in a straight line, about a mile long, is now the street called *il Corso*, from the races there exhibited, during the eight last days of the Carnival. These races had sometimes been performed on the plain at *Monte Testaccio* (see page 170), and sometimes in the *strada Giulia*, till Paul II. a Venetian, built the palace of St. Mark, and introduced them into the Corso. Platina, the historian of that pope, says that his holiness, with pleasure, assisted at these ridiculous shews, which were then of various kinds.—"Correvano i vecchi, correvano i giovani, correvano quelli che erano di mezza età, correvano i guidei, e li facevano ben saturare prima, perchè meno veloci corresero. Correvano i cavalli, e le cavalle, gli asini e i buffali con tanto piacere di tutti, che per le risa grandi potevano appena star le gente in piè."—Platina, storia delle vite de' Pontifici, Tom. 3. p. 411. ed. Venezia, 1763. 4to. At present these races are performed only by horses, who are bred to run without riders.

‡ Vide "Accademia di Cortona, Tom. 1 dissertazione xi. di Monsignor Marcello Severoli."

erected in honour of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus. Perhaps it was by order of the senate, on suppressing the revolt and dangerous rebellion of Avidius Cassius. Bellori* has published an elevation of this arch; the bas-relieves, which ornamented it, are preserved in the Capitol: and two of its columns, of *verde antico*, are to be seen in the Corsini chapel, at St. John *in Laterano*.

Monte Citorio, and amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, No. 5.

A little to the south of St. Laurence *in Lucina*, is a rising ground, which the modern Romans call *Monte Citorio*, or *Mons Citorius*. In ancient authors I find no such name given to any place in the Campus Martius. Modern writers indeed have given various but unsatisfactory etymologies of this name, with which I shall not trouble the reader.† It is on this site that Innocent XII. erected the great palace, called *Curia Innocenziana*, for the different courts of justice. In digging for foundations to this building, it evidently appeared that an amphitheatre, from its figure, seats, and other remains, had formerly stood here. But what other amphitheatre could this be than that built by Statilius Taurus, at his own expence, at the desire of Augustus?‡ However, as no part of it now remains, I can give no description of it. *Monte Citorio* is therefore an artificial height, and must have been produced from the ruins of this amphitheatre, and rubbish brought there from its neighbourhood.

* Vide "Veteres arcus Augustorum."

† Vide Vignolius de columna Antonini Pii.

‡ Vide p. 63. and p. 159,—"Statilius Taurus amphitheatrum in Campo Martio suis sumptibus absolvit."—Dion. Cass. Hist. l. 55.

Column of Antoninus Pius. No. 6.

On the west side of the *Curia Innocenziana* is the convent of the Fathers of the Mission. In their garden was discovered a plain column, of red Egyptian granite, sixty-six palms and eight inches high, and whose diameter is eight palms four inches and a half. Its square pedestal, of white statuary marble, is eleven palms high, and each side is thirteen palms broad. The names of Trajan and Nilus, an Egyptian architect, are inscribed, in Greek characters, though now much defaced, on the bottom of the column, which rested on the pedestal. This shows that it had been brought to Rome by Trajan, who probably had erected it: for may it not be that column, on the top of which is placed an owl, as we observe on a medaglion of this Emperor, published by Ficoroni?* But it had afterwards been, as we shall now see, dedicated to Antoninus Pius. It was dug up by order of Clement XI. On one side of the pedestal is represented, in bas-relief, the *apotheosis* of Antoninus Pius, and of Faustina the elder: on two of its sides I observed *decursiones*, or Pyrrhic, or Trojan dances, rites used at funerals and on those solemn occasions: and on the fourth side is this inscription:—

DIVO . ANTONINO . AVG . PIO
ANTONINVS . AVGVSTVS . ET
VERVS . AVGVSTVS . FILII.

Hence it is evident that this immense column had been dedicated, by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus, to Antoninus Pius.—Benedict XIV. caused this pedestal to be repaired, and placed before the *Curia Innocenziana*: but the

* "I piombi antichi," p. 5.

column being much damaged, he was discouraged to erect it on its pedestal. I saw this column lying on the ground, between Monte Citorio and the convent of the Mission.*

To the south-east of Monte Citorio, the magnificent historic column of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus stands in the square, from it, called *colonna*. It is constructed in imitation of that of Trajan.†—The blocks of white marble of which it is composed, the narrow staircase cut out of these blocks, the slits of windows by which it is lighted, and the spiral line to conduct the eye to trace the connection of the sculpture, being the same in both these columns. Indeed the sculpture on this column is inferior to Trajan's; that ingenious art having visibly declined from the reign of Trajan to that of Marcus Aurelius. Besides the Aurelian column has suffered much, probably from lightning, the sculpture in many places being much defaced; though the whole was repaired by order of Sixtus V. who caused the statue of St. Paul to be placed on it, as he had done that of St. Peter to be placed on the Trajan column.

Column of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. No. 7.

* Since the author of these remarks left Rome, he is informed that the present Pope Pius VI. has removed this pedestal to the Vatican, and has caused, in place of it, the obelisk, which served for the gnomon to the meridian line, to be erected. But as this obelisk, as I remarked, page 257, was broken into several pieces, and many of the hieroglyphics defaced, his holiness ordered the column of Antoninus Pius to be cut down, to repair and case up the parts of this obelisk, where the hieroglyphics were so defaced. Part, therefore, of this celebrated obelisk must now appear covered with hieroglyphics, and part of it plain. Thus Pope Pius VI. has had the honour to erect anew three great Egyptian obelisks. See pages 229 and 242.

† See pages 217, et seq.

The height of the shaft of this column is ninety-seven feet, and the pedestal twenty-five feet eight inches; so that the whole height, exclusive of the statue, is one hundred and twenty-two feet eight inches, English measure.

This column had been erected by the senate to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, but perhaps it was not finished till after his death. On it is represented, in bas-relief, the progress of the two wars, he carried on in Germany, against the Marcomanni and Quadi, assisted by the Sarmatians, Vandals, and other nations. But I cannot, in my limited remarks, and without the assistance of plates, convey an accurate idea of the numerous and various subjects engraved on this monument. I must therefore beg leave to refer the reader, as I did for Trajan's column, to the spirited plates given of it by Pietro Santi Bartoli.* In plate, No. 15, we see the grand representation of *Jupiter Pluvius* poetically imagined. He extends his right hand over the Roman army, ready to perish of thirst, whom he refreshes with rain, whilst his left hand is depressing and thundering their enemies. This seasonable shower, reckoned miraculous, has been ascribed to the virtues of the emperor; but Christian writers say that it proceeded from the prayers of the *Militenium legion*, called the *Thunderers*, the greatest part of whom were Christians.†

I cannot but here remark, that the hurry and danger of the

* Vide "Columna cochlis M. Aurelio Antonino Augusto dicata, notis Jo. Petri Bellorii illustrata, et a Petro Sancti Bartolo ære incisa."

† Vide Baronius.

war did not prevent Marcus Aurelius from pursuing his favourite philosophical studies: for the first book of his *Meditations** is dated in the country of the Quadi, near Granua; and the second book at Carnutum.

I have observed that this column was repaired by Sixtus V. The pedestal was so defaced that the pope caused it to be cased over with marble, and inscriptions to be inscribed on each of its sides. We cannot, however, give credit to the modern inscription, on the west side, in which it is said that this column was erected by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Antoninus Pius, his adopted father.† Indeed this opinion seems to have prevailed pretty generally, till the plain granite column, which I have just mentioned, was discovered, in the garden of the *Mission*, and which now decides this question.‡ For is it to be supposed that Marcus Aurelius would have erected an historic column to Antoninus Pius, in which none of the actions of the latter emperor were recorded, but only the Marcomannic war of the former?

* Vide page 187.

† Modern inscription on this column:—

M . AVRELIVS IMP .
ARMENIS PARTHIS
GERMANISQ . BELLO
MAXIMO DEVICTIS
TRIVMPHALEM HANC
COLVMNAM REBVS
GESTIS INSIGNEM
IMP . ANTONINO PIO
PATRI DEDICAVIT .

‡ Vide Vignolius de columna Antonini Pii. c. 7.

Piranesi's creative genius has, in his great plan of the Campus Martius, given a design of a forum, which he calls that of Marcus Aurelius, and in which he places the historic column.

Basilic of Antoninus Pius. No. 8.

A little to the south-west of Marcus Aurelius' historic column is the modern custom-house, called *Dogana di Terra*, erected by Innocent XII. It stands on the ruins of a magnificent oblong building, each side of which had been decorated with an open portico of Corinthian columns, fluted. It seems to have been one of these buildings, which Vitruvius* calls *Pseudodipteros*. The entry fronted east. Eleven columns, of the portico of the north side, still remain. They are thirty-nine feet seven inches Roman, in height, and four feet two inches in diameter: they support a noble cornice. They now serve as a front to the custom-house; but as they are much defaced, in order to strengthen them, it had been judged necessary to join the columns together with a wall and windows, so that they have only now the effect of semicolumns. This remarkable piece of antiquity is mentioned by all the antiquaries, many of whom have given engravings of it: but they do not agree whether these columns are the remains of a temple or of a basilic. Some suppose them to be the ruins of the temple of Mars, and others the ruins of that of Antoninus Pius, or of Marcus Aurelius. But, though I do not decide, I own that to me they have more the appearance of the remains of a basilic than of a temple. Perhaps it was the basilic of Antoninus Pius; and such I shall venture to name it.

* Vide l. 3. c. 1.

Thus I have observed four remarkable monuments near to each other, erected to Antoninus Pius, to Marcus Aurelius, and to Lucius Verus, in the Campus Martius.

The Roman historians all agree that the *comitia*, or assemblies of the people, for the election of magistrates, were held in the Campus Martius.* A particular place was appropriated for that purpose, which, from its resemblance to sheep-folds, was called *septa*, or *ovile*. It was divided into squares, and each tribe had a square allotted to its use. Its form is to be seen on a medal of the Licinian family. The entry to the *septa* was by a narrow bridge; by which means the collectors of the votes could, with more facility, ascertain their number. The *septa* continued for a long time to be inclosed with wood only, till Lepidus began to surround them with a portico of marble, which Agrippa finished, and rendered more magnificent, and, in compliment to Augustus, the adopted son of Julius Cæsar, he named them *septa Julia*. But where the

The septa Julia. No. 8.

* See page 131.—The Romans in their elections, or other questions, voted either in their *tribes* or in their *centuries*. In the first method, the majority of votes in each *tribe* determined the general vote of the *tribe*, and a majority of *tribes* determined the election, in which the meanest citizen had as good a vote as the best. But in the second method, the balance of power was thrown into the hands of the better sort, by a contrivance of Servius Tullius, who divided the whole body of citizens into an hundred and ninety-three *centuries*, according to a *census* or valuation of their estates; and then reduced these *centuries* into six classes, according to the same rule, assigning to the first or richest class ninety-seven of these *centuries*, or a majority of the whole number. If the *centuries* therefore of the first class agreed, the affair was over, and the votes of the rest were rendered insignificant.

septa stood, and which must have required a considerable space, is uncertain, and the antiquaries are much divided in their opinions on this point. Biondi places the *septa* at the *piazza Colonna;* Donatus at the *Fontana di Trevi,* towards the *Mons hortulorum;* Nardini between *Monte Citorio* and the church of *S. Maria in Aquiro;* Piranesi makes two *septa;* he
No. 10. places the one, which he calls *septi Trigarii,* at the convent of S. Silvester *in capite,* and the other, which he calls *septa Julia,* where stands the Pamfili palace in the Corso; and Venuti places the *septa Julia* where we observe the palace of S. Mark and the church of S. Ignatius.—In such a diversity of opinions, and when I can discover no certain remains or indications of this celebrated inclosure, I dare not venture to decide. It was, however, too remarkable an article to be passed over in silence.

Temple of Neptune, and the portico of the Argonauts. No. 11.

Near to the *septa,* wheresoever they stood, the temple of Neptune, and the portico of the Argonauts, seem to have been placed. Agrippa added the portico, and caused the expedition of the Argonauts, to be there painted, probably in allusion to his own naval victories.* Though Agrippa was reckoned a rough soldier rather than a polished man, yet he must have had taste in the fine arts, since he wrote an oration, now lost, but highly praised by Pliny,† to show the advantages that taste would reap by having pictures and statues, which should be considered as public property, exposed to public view, and not concealed in private habitations.

* Dio Cassius, l. 53. c. 27. † Plin. l. 35. c. 4.

Of the temple of Minerva there are no remains. We only know where it stood. On its ruins is built the great church, belonging to the Dominicans, called *Santa Maria sopra la Minerva.* Temple of Minerva. No. 12.

Conquerors were ambitious to consecrate their glory to immortality, by building temples, or other public monuments. Thus Pompey, after he ended the war of thirty years, built, out of its spoils, a temple to Minerva. It had no doubt been magnificently ornamented: and in its inscription, preserved to us by Pliny, he gave a summary of his victories, viz.

"That he had finished a war of thirty years; had vanquished, slain, and taken, two millions, one hundred and eighty-three thousand men; sunk or taken eight hundred and forty-six ships; reduced to the power of the empire a thousand five hundred and thirty-eight towns and fortresses; and subdued all the countries between the lake Mœotis and the Red Sea."*

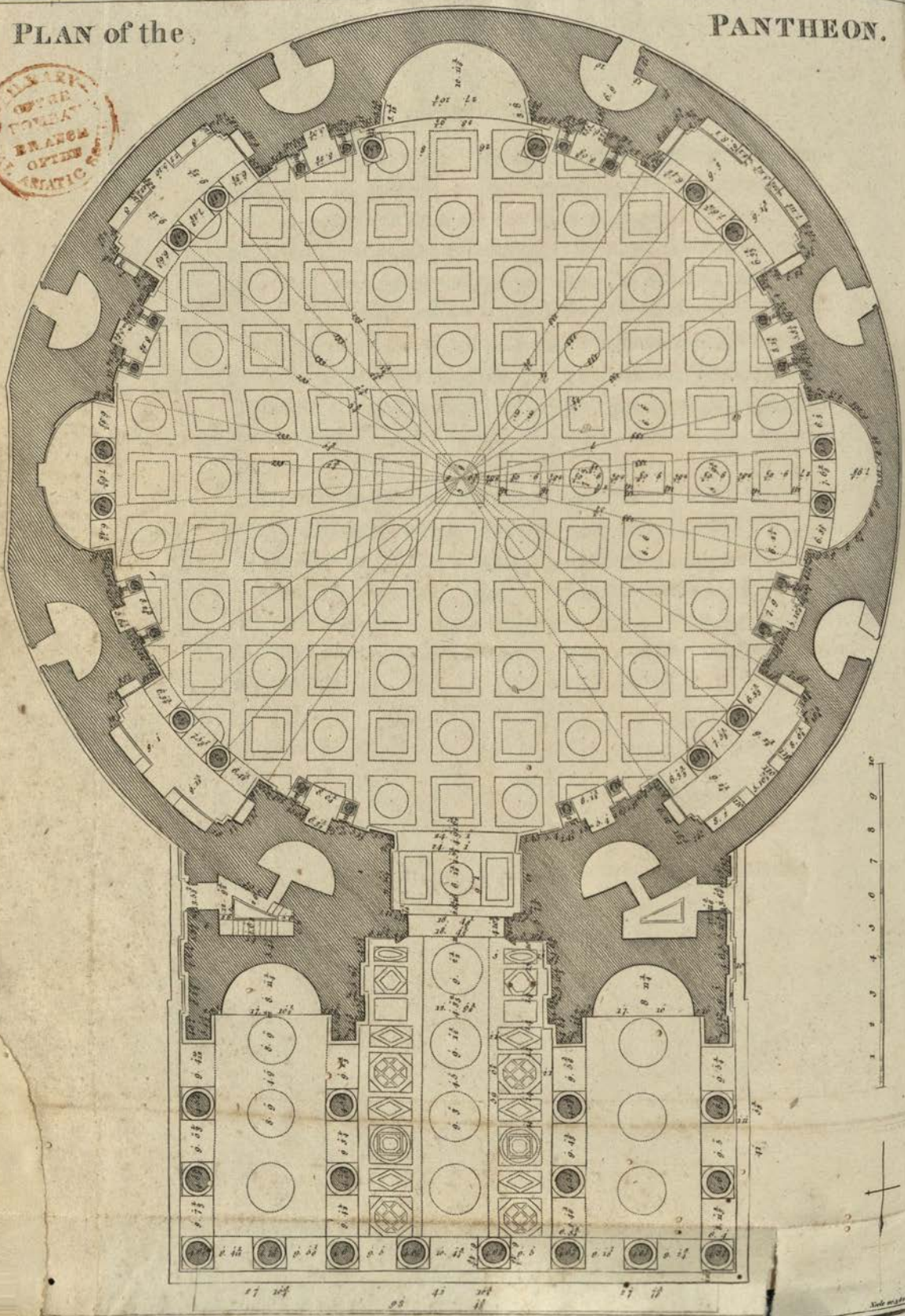
* "Cn . Pompeius . Cn . F . magnus . imp .
bello XXX . annorum . confecto .
fusis . fugatis . occisis . in . deditionem .
acceptis . hominum . centies . vicies .
semel . centenis . LXXXIII . M .
depressis . aut . capt . navibus . DCCCXLVI .
oppidis . castellis . MDXXXVIII .
in . fidem . receptis .
terris . a . Mœoti-lacu . ad Rubrum
mare . subactis .
votum . merito . Minervæ."
Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 26.

To a feeling mind how shocking must this pompous inscription appear! Flattery calls Pompey *great*, for having destroyed such numbers of the human race, and for having ruined such an extent of country! In place of exterminating, he would have been truly *great*, had he inspired them with the love of justice and virtue, and thereby rendered them useful members of society. But thoughtless man, dazzled with the lustre of their actions, gives the appellation of *hero* to those celebrated ambitious conquerors, who have done most mischief to mankind.

Near to the temple of Minerva was found a small but beautiful Egyptian obelisk, covered with hieroglyphics. It is twenty-four palms high, and its pedestal three palms and one-sixth. Pope Alexander VII. caused this obelisk to be erected before the church of the Dominicans. It is placed on the back of an elephant, executed from a design of Bernini, by one of his scholars.

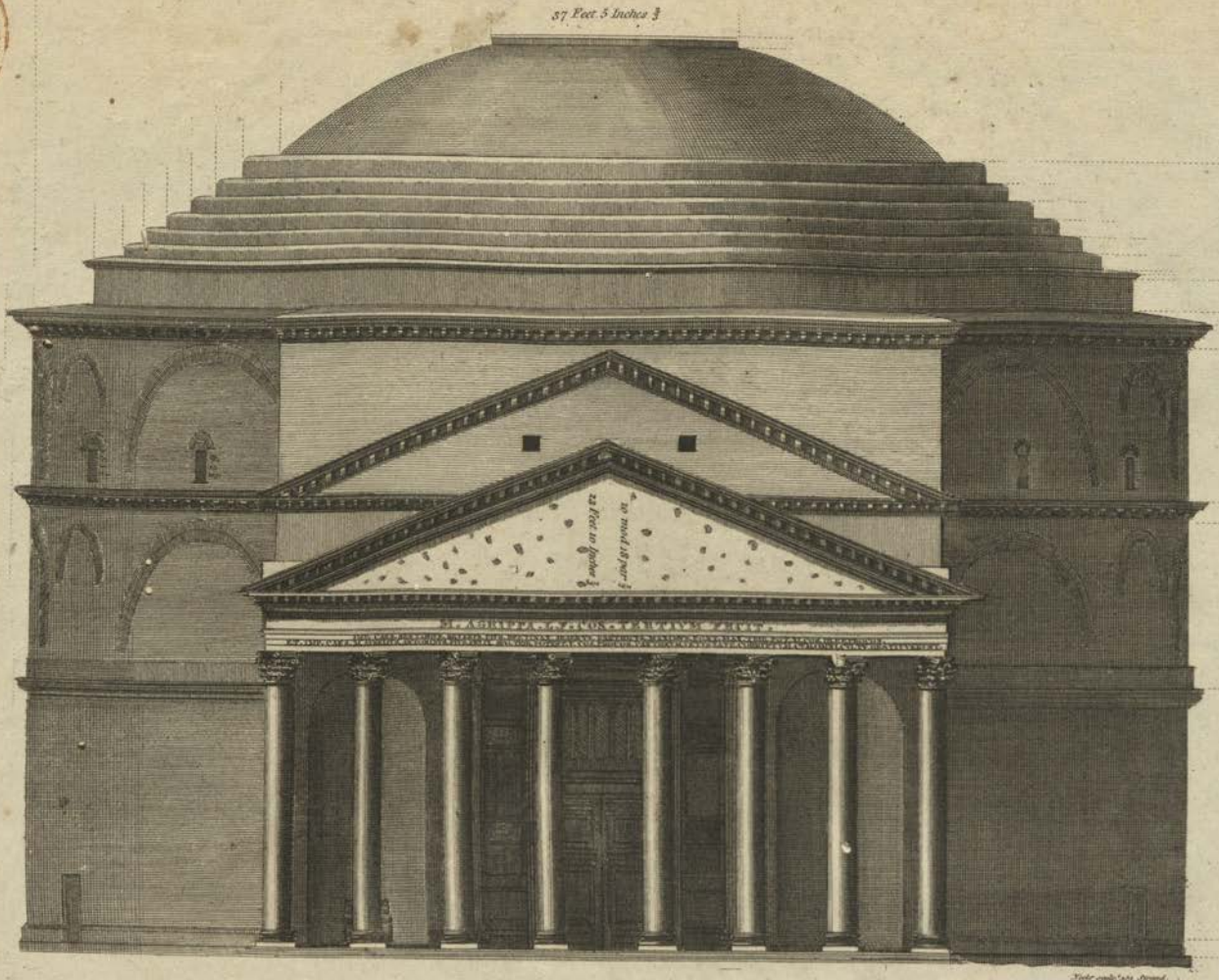
PLAN of the PANTHEON.

LIBRARY
OF THE
TOKAI
BRANCH
OF THE
ASIATIC



ASIATIC

ELEVATION of the FRONT of the PANTHEON at ROME.



THE PANTHEON.

I come to the *Pantheon*, the pride of Rome, and the admiration of every person of taste. From its circular form, it is now generally known by the name of the *Rotonda*. Though robbed of the greatest part of its precious ornaments, and after the many alterations it has undergone, it still remains the most complete and most magnificent of all the ancient temples to be seen at Rome. The Romans, having adopted the gods and superstitions of all the countries which they conquered, naturally erected a temple to the whole: for such is the meaning of Pantheon. No. 13.

On the frieze of the portico, or porch, is inscribed, in large letters.—

M . AGRIPPA . L . F . COS : TERTIVM . FECIT .

But whether Agrippa built the whole of this vast temple, or only added the portico, has been made a matter of doubt. Palladio* indeed thinks that the body of the Pantheon was built in the time of the republic. At any rate, the addition of the portico must have been an after thought, for the original frontispiece or pediment, of small projection, is still to be seen above Agrippa's portico.

That this temple had been repaired by Septimius Severus, and his son M. Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus, better known by the name of Caracalla, about two hundred years after the time of Agrippa, appears from the following inscription, in small characters, to be seen on the architrave.—

* Lib. 4. c. 20.

IMP . CAESAR . SEPTIMIVS . SEVERVS . PIVS . PERTINAX . ARABIC . ADIABENIC . PARTHIC.
PONTIF . MAX .—TRIB . POT . XI . COS . III . P . P . PROCOS .—ET
IMP . CAES . M . AVRELIVS . ANTONINVS . PIVS . FELIX . AUG . TRIB . POT . V . COS : PROCOS :
PANTHEVM . VETVSTATE . CORRVPTVM . CVM . OMNI . CVLTV . RESTITVERVNT .

From this inscription, it is evident that this temple is the Pantheon, and that it had suffered from age. But with what propriety could such a building be said to have suffered from age, had it been all built by Agrippa! Is not this an indication that the body of the temple was constructed long prior to the time of the son-in-law of Augustus? But by whom it was first built or to what deity or deities it was afterwards dedicated, I have not been able to ascertain. Pliny* indeed says, that Agrippa dedicated it to Jupiter the Avenger—"Pantheon Jovi ultori ab Agrippa factum."—Some antiquaries suppose it was built by Scipio Nasica,† about the year of Rome 555, in honour of Cybelé, and that, from the mother of the gods, it was called Pantheon: but I find no sufficient authority for that opinion.

But, supposing the body of the Pantheon to have been built in the time of the republic, yet is it not highly probable that Agrippa, when he added the noble portico, renewed the interior of the temple, and decorated it with the rich ornaments, mentioned by ancient writers? May he not therefore, in some measure, be considered as the author of the whole?

From Dio Cassius, ‡ it appears that Agrippa wished to place the statue of Augustus in the Pantheon, and to have inscribed his name as author of this superb temple, which the emperor

* Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 15.
† Livy, lib. 29. c. 14.
‡ Lib. 53. c. 22.

modestly declined. Agrippa therefore placed the statue of Julius Cæsar in the Pantheon, among the gods and the statues of Augustus and himself in the great niches under the portico.

The Pantheon was given by the Emperor Phocas to Boniface IV. elected Pope in the year 608, who converted it into a Christian church, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary, and to all the martyrs.*

Notwithstanding the constant tradition that the Pantheon was a temple, and that it contains in itself every indication that it was such; yet Father Lazzari,† to show his ability to defend a paradox, pretends that it was not a temple, but only part of Agrippa's baths. The principal reason with which he attempts to support his singular opinion is, that, had it been a temple, the zeal of the primitive Christians would have destroyed one so remarkable, dedicated to all the gods; especially as they were, he says, authorised to do so, by a law of Theodosius II.‡ But this law seems to relate only to the abolishing the superstitious worship and use of temples, and not to the buildings themselves, many of which, if their size permitted, § were converted into Christian churches. Indeed, Theodosius's edict only renewed what Arcadius and Honorius had done before him: for when they condemned sacrificing, they did not order the buildings to be destroyed, but commanded them to be preserved.—"Sicut sacrificia templorum pro-

* See Platina's life of Boniface IV.

† "Della consecrazione del Pantheon, fatta da Bonifazio IV. discorso di Pietro Lazzari, della compagnia di Gesu." 1749.

‡ Codex Theodos. l. 16. tit. 10. sect. 7. § See page 9.

hibemus, ita volumus publicorum operum ornamenta servari."* the Pantheon was no part of Agrippa's baths, though it stood near to them: nor would even this supposition of Lazzari have been a protection to the Pantheon, since we know that the popes, discouragers of public bathing, because of the many indecencies there committed, contributed much to the destruction of the baths.

Many plans and elevations of the Pantheon have, no doubt, been published, to which I migh refer the reader. But, as delineations of such objects convey clearer ideas than can be done by words, I have judged it necessary to accompany this article with a plan and elevation of this celebrated building.†

We have not now so advantageous a View of the Pantheon as formerly; because the ground about it has been much raised by the rubbish of buildings destroyed in its neighbourhood. The popes, indeed, have caused the ground to be cut down in a slope, so that we descend to the portico. When the ground was level there were seven steps to ascend the portico; whereas one only remains.

The whole of the Pantheon is Corinthian, and is reckoned a model for the proportions of that elegant order.‡ The portico is supported by sixteen columns of oriental granite, the shaft of each of which is a single stone, about forty-two feet, English measure, high, without reckoning either base or capital. Eight of these columns ornament the front, and the other eight are placed behind, as will appear from the annexed plan.§

* Codex Just. l. 1. tit. 11. sect. 3.

† See plates V. and VI.

‡ See page 5.

§ See plate V.

This portico is surmounted with a pediment, in the tympan of which I observed many holes, which no doubt served to fix a bas-relief, but which has been taken away. Indeed the portico was covered, both outside and inside, with brass, which Urban VIII. Barberini, employed to make the superb *baldoquin* in St. Peter's, and some cannon, which are to be seen in the castle St. Angelo. It was this robbery that made Pasquin say—"Quod non fecerunt Barbari Romæ, fecit Barberini,"—This pope added the two towers, or belfries, which surely do not correspond with the majesty of the Pantheon, and serve only to disfigure it; but for which, however, he caused an inscription to be placed in the portico.

The present gate, though of metal, seems not to be the original one, which was of sculptured bronze, and is said to have been carried away by Genseric, King of the Goths.

The diameter of the inside of the Pantheon is about 149 feet English, exclusive of the walls, which are about 18 feet thick: so that the diameter of the whole circle is about 185 feet. The bricks, with which the walls were built, must have been made of excellent materials, and well baked, to have existed entire such a number of years.

The height of the interior of the Pantheon was the same as its breadth, before the floor was raised, which is now on a level with the floor of the portico; whereas formerly it seems to have been seven or eight feet lower than the level of the portico, from whene they descended into the body of the building by several steps. Such a construction was not unu-

sual; for the ancients thought that it added a majestic gravity to their temples. In the present case the additional height, which the Pantheon by this means acquired, seems to have been necessary for the Corinthian order.

Round the interior of the Pantheon, there were seven recesses or chapels, formed in the thickness of the walls. Each of these chapels is ornamented with two beautiful columns of *giallo antico*, fluted. Between these chapels there are altars; but these have been added since the temple was converted into a Christian church.

The walls from the floor to the cornice were divided into compartments, and incrusted with precious marbles. The frieze is of porphyry. Over the great cornice there is an attic, decorated with fourteen niches; between each niche were four pilasters, with pannels of different marbles: but this part of the decoration was destroyed by Benedict XIV. whilst I was at Rome. The attic has an entablature, from which immediately springs the arch or vault which covers the whole. This arch for a considerable distance is divided into compartments, which are supposed to have been covered with sculptured plates of silver, but of which there is no vestige. Towards the summit the arch is plain. The Pantheon, being one of those temples which Vitruvius* calls *hypæthra*, has no windows, and is only lighted from the summit by a circular opening, the diameter of which is about twenty-seven feet; it may properly be called its *eye*, and nobly is it lighted. Through this opening the rain indeed falls into the temple; but there is a

* Lib. 1. c. 2.

reservoir, in the middle of the floor, for carrying it off; and for this reason the floor is not level, but slants to this centre.

The roof of the Pantheon, now covered with lead, was formerly covered with plates of gilded brass. These, however, as well as the silver and other metals that enriched the inside of the arch, are said to have been carried away by Constans II. in his visit to Rome, about the year 655.

Among the ornaments of the Pantheon, Pliny* mentions columns with capitals of the metal which he calls *Syracusian*, but none of these are preserved. Nor do any of the *caryatides* or statues executed by Diogenes, the Athenian sculptor, now remain.—"Agrippæ Pantheum decoravit Diogenes Atheniensis: et caryatides in columnis templi ejus probantur inter pauca operum; sicut in fastigio posita signa, sed propter altitudinem loci minus celebrata."† I am at a loss to decide where the caryatides could have been placed, unless they served as columns to the attic, and in its niches stood the statues. Perhaps these figures being indecent, and improper for a Christian church, were removed when the Pantheon was converted into that use.

Fine statues of many of the heathen deities had no doubt been placed in the Pantheon. Pliny‡ particularly takes notice of a statue of Venus, with a pair of ear-rings made of a pearl cut asunder, being the companion of one which Cleopatra, in a wager, dissolved in vinegar, and drank to the health

* Lib. 34. c. 3. † Ib. lib. 36. c. 5. ‡ Lib. 9. c. 5.

of Mark Antony, to show her lover how much she could exceed him in extravagance. She intended to have dissolved both; but having won her wager, she was prevented from destroying the other. These two pearls, the largest and finest that ever had been seen, were valued at an immense price, viz. about £80,000 of our money.

Fabio Devoti, my late ingenious and learned friend, contemplating the circular opening, or eye, by which the Pantheon is enlightened, thought that it presented to him an easy solution of the celebrated enigma, which Virgil* makes Damætas propose to Menalcas—

"Dic, quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo,
Tres pateat cœli spatium non amplius ulnas?"

Looking through this opening, a very small portion only of the heavens presents itself to us; and indeed any deep pit would produce the same effect. Devoti, therefore, supposing this to have been the temple of Cybelé, the Berecynthian goddess, makes Menalcas answer thus—

"Ingredere in templum, quod habet Berecynthia Romæ:
Cœlum ibi ab impluvio ternas arctatur ad ulnas."†

Bramante, in the pontificate of Julius II. captivated with the beauty of the Pantheon, wished to raise a monument still more surprising. He therefore took it as his model for the dome of St. Peter, and placed it in the air. But the great

* Eclog. 3. v. v. 104. and 105.

† "Fabii Devoti in Ænigma Damætæ de Cœli Spatio in terris quibusdam tres non amplius ulnas patente Commentarius." Romæ, 1763. 12mo.

artist gave such a proportion to the four pillars that support it, that this immense pile seems to be equally light and solid. It is true that this dome is now considerably damaged; but it has not proceeded from ignorance in the artist, but from causes which are foreign to my subject to examine.* Although my remarks are limited to antiquity, and consequently I am not to enter into a detail of the church of St. Peter, the greatest temple perhaps ever erected, yet, from the connection between its dome and the Pantheon its model, I cannot but observe here, the effects it produced on me. When I entered this magnificent cathedral nothing at first surprised me. I saw not immediately its greatness. Its length, breadth, and height are so nicely proportioned, that they exactly fill the eye: and the oftener that I examined it, its grandeur and my astonishment increased. The exact proportions, every where observed, easily impose on the eye. Thus when we enter the gate, and look to the right and to the left hand, we observe the basons containing the *holy water* supported by statues that seem to be of the size of nature; but, when we approach them, they are gigantic. This is the test of art. How different are the effects of Gothic cathedrals! these, indeed, at first surprise us; but when we examine them attentively our surprise diminishes, and we perceive that it is a want of proportion that produced it. A want of breadth makes the length appear immense: or want of length gives the same effect to their breadth: or if it is height we admire, it generally proceeds from want of breadth. But persons of

* "See "Parere sopra i danni e risarcimenti della Cupola di S. Pietro, per i Padri Lesieur, Jacquier e Boscovich." Roma, 1743, 4to.

refined taste will no doubt prefer the Grecian to the Gothic architecture. However, as these are few, compared with mankind at large, perhaps a Gothic cathedral, its awful height, its vast length, added to its *dim religious light*, as Milton expresses it, may imprint more veneration, and inspire the minds of the people with higher ideas of the Divinity, than even the wonderful church of St. Peter, with all its superior beauties, can produce.

Agrippa's baths. No. 14.

Immediately behind the Pantheon were Agrippa's baths. They are now so demolished that I can give no description of them. Many houses are built on their foundations. I indeed observed a semicircular building of great thickness, now known by the name of *arco della ciambella;* but what part of the baths this was I cannot ascertain. These seem, however, to have been the first public baths constructed at Rome: but they were eclipsed in extent, and perhaps in beauty, by these afterwards built by Titus, Caracalla, and other emperors. Agrippa bequeathed* his baths, along with his gardens, to the people, where they bathed gratis. From Pliny† we learn that these baths were elegantly decorated with enamel paintings—"Agrippa certe in thermis, quas Romæ fecit, figlinum opus encausto pinxit: in reliquis albaria adornavit."—The historian‡ observes, that these baths were built before the luxury of ornamenting houses with glass vitrifications, or what we call pastes, was introduced at Rome, otherwise Agrippa would have employed them in his baths—"Non

* Dio Cass. l. 55. Ann. 742. † Plin. l. 36. c. 25.

‡ Plin. ib.

dubie *vitreas* facturus cameras, si prius inventum id fuisset."—Many fine statues had no doubt stood in these baths. Pliny* mentions particularly one, by Lisippus, which was placed before the baths, which Tiberius so much admired, that he ordered it to be carried to his own bedchamber, and caused another statue to be placed in its stead. But the people, enraged at the loss of their favourite statue, made such clamour in the theatre, that even the tyrant Tiberius found it prudent to restore it to them.—"Plurima ex omnibus signa fecit, (Lisippus) ut diximus, fecundissimæ artis, inter quæ distringentem se, quem Marcus Agrippa ante thermas suas dicavit, mire gratum Tiberio principi: qui non quivit temperare sibi in eo, quanquam imperiosus sui inter initia principatus, transtulitque in cubiculum, alio ibi signo substituto: cum quidem tanta populi Romani contumacia fuit, ut magnis theatri clamoribus reponi *Apoxyomenon* (nomen signi) flagitaverit, princepsque, quanquam adamatum, reposuerit."

Gardens and ponds.

Agrippa's gardens and ponds (stagna) were probably adjoining to his baths. It was at these ponds that Nero gave the obscene festival, described by the energetic pen of Tacitus.† The beauty of these gardens, ponds, canals, and the *aqua Virginis*,‡ made the unfortunate Ovid,§ after a four years' exile, ardently wish to see them:

"Nec tu credideris urbanæ commoda vitæ
Quærere Nasonem, quærit et illa tamen.
- - - - - - - -

* Plin. l. 34. c. 8. † Ann. l. 15. c. 37. ‡ See page 55.
§ De Ponto, l. 1. epist. 8.

Atque domo rursus pulchræ loca vertor ad urbis,
Cunctaque mens oculis pervidet illa suis.
- - - - - - - - -
Gramina nunc campi pulchros spectantis in hortos,
Stagnaque et Euripi, Virgineusque liquor."

Nero's baths. No. 15.

The palace of the governor of Rome, which was formerly that of the grand Duke of Tuscany, is a little to the west of the Pantheon. On this situation Nero built his baths; but of which no part remains. Indeed, while at Rome, I saw some considerable walls of these baths taken down, when the stables and offices for the governor were built. I can therefore give no account of these celebrated baths. That they were elegant, we may conclude from Martial's contrasting their beauty with the worthlessness of Nero—

———" Quid Nerone pejus?
Quid thermis melius Neronianis?"*

Alexander Severus's baths.

Whether Alexander Severus only enlarged Nero's baths, or whether he built new baths, adjoining to them, has been a question among the antiquaries. But it plainly appears from Lampridius,† that this emperor built baths of his own—" Ipse nova multa constituit: in his thermas nominis sui juxta eas quæ Neronianæ fuerunt, aqua inducta, quæ *Alexandrina* nunc dicitur."—It is not, however, improbable that the baths of Alexander Severus were, from their contiguity, incorporated with those of Nero; and that, from the public esteem of the

* Mart. l. 7. ep. 34.

† Lamp. Vita A. Severi. c. 25.

former, and the contempt of the character of the latter, they came both to be named *Thermæ Alexandrinæ.*

The Agonal games were of great antiquity. They are said to have been instituted by Numa, in honour of Janus. The *piazza Navona* is reckoned to have been the circus where these shows were exhibited. It is a parallelogram, and consequently proper for that purpose. But it is now built on all sides, nor could I trace any vestiges of its ancient form; though many parts of its foundations, we were told, are yet to be seen in the cellars and substructions of the modern buildings. When this circus was inundated by the Tiber, which sometimes happened, the Agonal games were performed, as I have mentioned,* in the circus at the *Porta Salara.*

Circus Agonalis. No. 16.

Pompey,—"spoliis orientis onustus,"—added much to the splendour of the Campus Martius. After he had finished the Mithridatic war, he built, at a vast expence, a theatre, colonnades, or porticos, a curia, &c. in that part now called the *Campo di Fioré,* and in its neighbourhood. A considerable extent of ground was necessary for these various objects,

Pompey's theatre, &c. No. 17.

Before he returned to Rome, he had meditated to build a theatre: for which reason, when at Mitylene, he was so pleased with the form of its theatre, that he caused a plan of it to be made, to serve as a model for the one he projected, but which, in the execution, he made larger and more magnificent.†

* See page 44.

† Plutarch's Life of Pompey.

Though Pompey's great buildings have long since been destroyed, and the ground on which they stood covered with streets and houses, yet part of the walls and seats of the theatre may still be traced in the cellars of the palace of Prince Pio in the Campo di Fioré, formerly belonging to the Orsini family, and in other houses in its vicinity.

However, on the ancient marble plan of Rome, which I have already mentioned,* I find (Tab. 15.) an entire theatre, which, I have no doubt, was that of Pompey. As this is a curious fragment, though not sufficiently detailed, I shall, from Bellori, present an engraving of it to the reader, since it will give an idea of a Roman theatre.† Indeed Vitruvius, that great master in architecture, has particularly treated this subject.‡

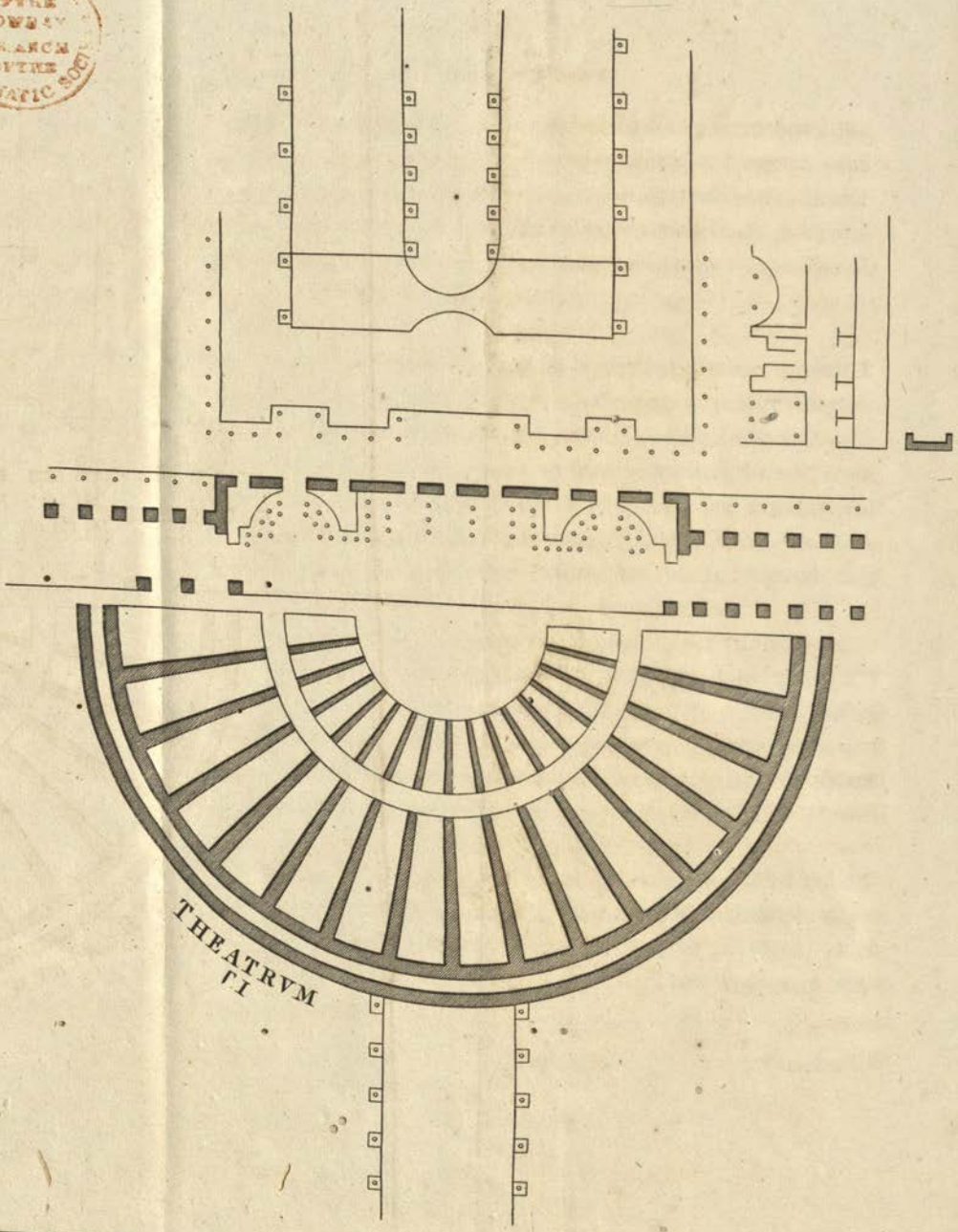
A semicircular building was the best form that could have been adopted for theatrical representations. It was the half of an amphitheatre. The circular part served for the seats and orchestra, and the straight line for the stage. By this means the spectators saw and heard equally well.

Here we observe two *præcinctiones*, which separated the different seats, rising from the orchestra to the summit of the building. Under the seats were corridors, or passages, which by various staircases, led to the seats. These corridors were called *vomitorii*.

* See page 159. † See plate VII. ‡ Vitruvius, l. 5. c. 3. to c. 9. inclusive.

POMPEY'S THEATRE, from the *MARBLE PLAN of ROME*.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCY.



Neele sc. 361 Strand.

The *proscenium* had been richly ornamented with columns, and represented a magnificent hall, terminated with two semicircular recesses or niches, for statues.

The celebrated *torso*, preserved in the Museo Pio Clementino at the Vatican, seems to have belonged to a statue of Hercules. It was so much admired by Michael Angelo Buonarotti that it is known by his name. If this fragment was found in the Campo di Fioré, in the time of Julius II. as mentioned by Mercati, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it had ornamented Pompey's theatre. I shall not attempt to describe this *torso*, which has been done by the learned pens of Winckelmann, Mengs, and Visconti.

Behind the *proscenium* was the *postscenium*, which was a covered portico, to which the actors retired, either to change their dresses, or to prepare the temporary decorations of the stage. To this portico the spectators could retire in case of rain, as well as to the *vomitorii*: for the great Roman theatres had no roofs, but were covered with awnings, as I shall more fully remark, in my account of Vespasian's amphitheatre. That Pompey's theatre had such a portico we learn from Vitruvius *—"Post scenam porticus sunt constituendæ, uti cum imbres repentini ludos interpellaverint, habeat populus, quo se recipiat ex theatro; choragiaque laxamentum habeant ad chorum parandum: *uti sunt porticus Pompeianæ.*"—And such porticos are marked on the marble plan of this theatre.

* Vitruvius, l. 5. c. 9. ed. Galiani, 1758. fol.

Though I observed no doors marked on this plan, there must have been many entrances, in the semicircular part of the building, like these in Vespasian's amphitheatre, that the people might, without confusion, enter to and retire from the different seats appropriated for them; especially as this theatre, according to Pliny,* could contain forty thousand spectators.

The chief difference between the Greek and Roman theatres seems to have been in the size of the orchestras and stages. In Greece the orchestra was appropriated for the dancers and chorus, and therefore required to be large; and the stage was narrow, because it served for the declaiming actors only: whereas at Rome the stage was larger, because the whole representation was performed on it; and the orchestra was smaller, because it served only for the seats of the senators and great magistrates. The seats† nearest to the stage, or *pulpitum*, were the most honourable.

In these vast theatres, where every thing required to be exaggerated, perhaps the use of masks was necessary. These masks were adapted to the characters to be represented, and their mouths were so formed as to serve as trumpets to extend the voice of the actor to a great distance. Hence they were called *persona a personando.*‡ Ficoroni,§ from ancient monuments, has published a great variety of them. But it is obvious, that the sudden changes of the countenance, and the

* Plin. l. 36. c. 15. † Vitruvius, l. 5. c. 6. ‡ A. Gellius, l. 5. c. 7. § "Le Maschere sceniche e le Figure comiche d'antiche Romani."

fine expression either of the strong or gentle passions, which give such pleasure to the spectators, and distinguish our great actors, could never be so well imitated by masks ; which could only express, in all parts, the same cast of countenance; and the voice alone left imperfectly to notify the changes of passion which the audience were to hear represented, as the mask was always the same, utterly incapable of variation.

I shall not here trace the progress of the Roman theatre; for, curious as the subject is, it would extend my remarks beyond what I intend. I shall only observe, that theatrical entertainments were early introduced in Rome from Tuscany.* But the theatres were temporary: they remained only during the particular show given ; and were constructed of wood and branches of trees, which made Ovid† call them—"nemorosa palatia."—Indeed towards the end of the republic, the extent and magnificence of these temporary theatres surpass our imagination, as may appear from the wonderful description Pliny‡ gives of those of Marcus Scaurus and Caius Curio.§

* Livy, l. 7. c. 2. † De Arte Amandi, l. 1. v. 105.

‡ Pliny, l. 36. c. 15. thus describes the theatre of M. Scaurus.—The scene was three stories high, ornamented with three hundred and sixty columns. The lowest part of the scene was of marble; the second part, by an unheard of piece of luxury, was of glass; and the upper part was of *tabulæ inauratæ*, the meaning of which is difficult to determine: it literally signifies *gilded tables* or *pictures*. The lowest row of columns were forty-two feet high, and there were three thousand brazen statues between the columns. This theatre contained eighty thousand spectators.

§ C. Curio's theatre was of wood, and, after having served for the dramatic

Pompey was the first who built a permanent theatre of stone at Rome.—"Quippe erant," says Tacitus,* "qui Cn. quoque Pompeium incusatum à senioribus ferrent, quod mansuram theatri sedem posuisset: nam antea subitariis gradibus, et scena in tempus structâ, ludos edi solitos: vel si vetustiora repetas, stantem populum spectavisse; ne, si consideret, theatro dies totos ignaviâ continuaret."—But when the emperors politically encouraged idleness, to prevent the people from considering their degraded situation, they often entertained them with shows of every kind: then a permanent theatre became an economy.—"Sed et consultum parsimoniæ," adds the sagacious historian,† "quod perpetua sedes theatro locata sit, potiùs quàm immenso sumptu, singulos per annos consurgeret ac strueretur."

To procure permanency to this theatre, and to prevent the censor, that formidable magistrate, from causing it to be demolished, after he had there exhibited his expensive and magnificent shows, Pompey erected a temple to *Venus Victrix*, which projected into the circular part of the theatre, probably as Adrian afterwards did at his theatre in his villa, as I have mentioned, in the account of Tivoli.‡ He therefore pretended that his theatre was a temple, and that the seats for the spectators were the steps that led to it.

Pompey, in the inscription he writ to record his titles on

entertainments, turned upon an *axis*, with the spectators in their seats, and formed an amphitheatre.—Plin. ib.

* Tacit. An. l. 14. c. 20.

† Tacit. ib. c. 21.

‡ See Appendix, No. II.

this temple of Venus, was at a loss how to express his third consulship; whether it should be by CONSVL TERTIVM, or TERTIO. He therefore referred it to the principal critics of Rome, who differing in their opinions, he then begged Cicero to decide this grammatical difficulty. But the orator, either doubtful himself, or unwilling to offend any of the critics, advised Pompey to abbreviate the word, and to write TERT.*— Yet we find that Agrippa afterwards in his inscription on the Pantheon, used the word TERTIUM.†

Pompey at the dedication of his theatre exhibited to the people entertainments of music, gymnastic exercises, and combats of wild beasts, wherein five hundred lions were slain. But what gave the greatest astonishment and terror was the combat of elephants.‡ Cicero,§ who, out of compliment to Pompey, was present at these shows, says that the huntings were magnificent; but he asks, what pleasure is it to a man of taste to see a poor weak fellow torn to pieces by a fierce beast, or a noble beast struck dead with a spear? Indeed, adds he, the last day's show of elephants, instead of delight, raised compassion, from an opinion of some relation between that sagacious animal and man. The great orator and philosopher || justly observes, that there is no real dignity or lasting honour in these shows; that they satiate while they please, and are forgotten as soon as over.

This theatre having suffered from fire, Tiberius undertook

* A. Gellius, l. 10. c. 1. † See page 277. ‡ Plutarch's Life of Pompey. § Cic. Epist. Fam. l. 7. ep. 1. || Cic. de Offic. l. 2. c. 16.

to repair it at his own expence, because there was no descendant of Pompey's illustrious family sufficiently rich to do so.* It had afterwards been repaired at various times.

The *Mons Janiculum* was opposite to Pompey's theatre, and might have been easily seen from thence: but Horace seems to consider it and the *Mons Vaticanus* as the same: for the poet says, that the Mons Vaticanus, and banks of the Tiber, echoed back the praises given to Mæcenas by the people in this theatre:—

———"Datus in theatro
cum tibi plausus,
Care Mæcenas eques; ut paterni
Fluminis ripæ, simul et jocosa
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
montis imago."†

Colonnades and parterres.

In front of the *postscenium*, as we observe on the marble plan, were Pompey's magnificent colonnades and parterres, which served for public walks. The colonnades were richly decorated with pictures, statues, and expensive ornaments. Their beauty did not escape the attention of the poet Propertius,‡ who mentions them to Cynthia as more engaging than the walks she would find either at Tibur or Præneste, where she intended to retire.

* Tacit. An. l. 3. c. 72. † L. 1. od. 20.
‡ Propertius, l. 2. eleg. 32.

"Nam quid Prænestis dubias, ô Cynthia, sortes,
Quid petis Æei mœnia Telegoni?
- - - - - - - - - - - -
Scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis
Porticus, Aulæis nobilis attalicis?"

That these porticos and gardens were much frequented appears from Martial,* who satirising the parasite Selius, for going from one public walk to another, in quest of persons to invite him to dinner or supper, leads him here:—

"Inde petit centum pendentia tecta columnis;
Illinc Pompeii dona, nemusque duplex."

Pompey's curia and statue.

Contiguous to his theatre Pompey built his *curia* or *basilic*, Although I cannot fix its exact situation, as no part of it remains, yet it is too remarkable in the Roman history to be passed over in silence. It was in this *curia* that Julius Cæsar assembled the senate on the *ides* of March, a day so fatal to him. Attacked by Brutus and Cassius, and the other conspirators, and covered with wounds, he expired at the foot of Pompey's statue, which was stained with his blood.† Shakspeare,‡ the immortal father of the English theatre, has seized this cirumstance, when he makes Antony poetically say to the people—

——"Even at the base of Pompey's statue,
Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell."

This curia was ordered to be shut up,§ and the senate never

* Martial, l. 2. ep. 14.
† Plutarch, Life of J. Cæsar.
‡ Shakspeare, J. Cæsar, act 3. sc. 2.
§ Suet. Life of J. Cæsar, c. 88.

again assembled in it: but Augustus caused the statue to be removed from thence, and placed it over against his theatre, upon a marble gate.* The noble colossean figure of Pompey, which is now preserved in the Spada palace at Rome, was found here, and probably is the very statue in question. Contrary, indeed, to the modesty of a Roman citizen,† it is naked, with the *chlamys* only in the manner of the ancient Grecian heroes, or deified emperors. It must therefore have been executed in Pompey's lifetime, and not after his death, and his party extinguished.

Circus of Flaminius. No. 18.

Another remarkable object in the Campus Martius was the Flaminian circus. It was built, according to Festus, by that C. Flaminius killed at the battle of Trasimenus, on the *prata Flaminia*, formerly given to the republic by that family. It stood to the south-east of Pompey's theatre. But is so entirely destroyed, and covered with buildings, that I can give no description of it. I only know, that on part of its site stand the palace of the Duke Mattei, and the church and convent of the nuns of St. Catherine *di Funari*. In digging in the garden of these nuns, while I was at Rome, some vestiges of this circus, were discovered, but soon concealed again. As this circus, in the time of Cicero, was without the walls, we find assemblies of the people held there, to give opportunities to generals to assist at them: for when a general was invested with a military command, he could not appear within the walls of the city.

* Suet. Aug c. 30.

† "Græca res est, nihil velare: ac contra Romana ac militaris, thoracas adderé."—Plin. l. 34. c. 5.

Several temples and other buildings, mentioned by ancient writers, stood near to this circus, but none of them are now to be traced.

Balbus's theatre. No. 19.

The theatre built by L. Cornelius Balbus, at the desire of Augustus,* was likewise in the Campus Martius. But where it precisely stood, I believe is uncertain. The antiquaries generally place it near to the river, in the neighbourhood of the Fabrician bridge. A fragment of a theatre, on the marble plan of Rome (Tab. 12), is probably part of the *proscenium* of this theatre. Because, we know, there were only three permanent theatres at Rome, viz. those of Pompey, Balbus, and Marcellus, which made Ovid† say—

"Visite conspicuis *terna theatra* locis."

Now, as we plainly trace, among the fragments of this ancient plan, the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus, we may conclude that this third belongs to the theatre of Balbus.

The Ghetto, or Jewry.

Titus, having taken Jerusalem, brought numbers of Jews captives to Rome. He employed them in working in the buildings he constructed. Their descendants are lodged in a quarter called the *Ghetto:* a wretched, dirty, confined place, along the banks of the river, to the north of the entry to the Fabrician bridge. May not this be the same site mentioned by Juvenal?‡

* Suet. Aug. c. 28.

† De Arte Amandi, l. 3 v. 394.

‡ Sat. 3. v. 13.

——"et delubra locantur
Judæis: quorum cophinus, fœnumque supellex."

These people still remain here in a state of slavery. Ten thousand of them are every night locked up, in this narrow quarter, by order of government. They are heavily taxed, and are often forced to hear sermons preached to them for their conversion. They support themselves by exercising every low profession. It must, however, be acknowledged, that these Jews are now the most ancient inhabitants of Rome, whose families can with certainty be traced; and who scrupulously practise the customs and rites of their forefathers.

Portico of Octavia. No. 20 and 21.

Augustus* was politically anxious to embellish Rome: it was to amuse the people, to obtain their love, to make them forget the loss of their liberty, and the cruelties he committed during his detestable triumvirate. He therefore not only engaged rich persons, such as Agrippa, Taurus, Balbus, &c. to

* It was said of Augustus, that he should never have been born, or never died. For the first part of his life was stained with such vices and cruelties, and the latter part of it breathed such humanity and love of the people, that he was then considered as the tutelar deity of the empire. Hence statues, altars, and temples were erected to him in his lifetime. But, whether this absurd flattery proceeded from the poets, or that they only re-echoed the voice of the people, it is now difficult to pronounce. Virgil invokes him as a deity—

——"Deus nobis hæc otia fecit;
Namque erit ille mihi semper deus: illius aram
Sæpe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus." Ecl. 1.

and Horace says—

——"præsens divus habebitur
Augustus"—— L. 3. od. 5.

do so at their own expence; but he himself likewise erected magnificent buildings, without assuming the praise, having ascribed them either to Livia, to Octavia, to Marcellus, or to Caius and Lucius.* Thus he built an elegant portico, to which he gave the name of his sister Octavia. It stood between the Flaminian circus and Marcellus' theatre. In it were inclosed the temples of Jupiter and Juno, said to have been built, in the time of the republic, by Metellus Macedonicus, but which probably had afterwards been embellished by Augustus. The form of this portico and those temples is preserved on the ancient marble plan of Rome. (Tab. 2.) Considerable remains of them are still to be seen at the *Pescheria* (the fish-market) and the church of *St. Angiolo*, called *in Pescheria*. Piranesi has traced these beautiful remains, which are of the Corinthian order, and given engravings of them.† From an inscription remaining on the portico of the temple of Juno, it appears to have suffered from fire—INCENDIO CONSVMPTAM—and to have been restored by Septimius Severus and Caracalla. It is indeed singular that such solid buildings, of stone and marble, should so frequently have suffered from fire: but this fact is so established by inscriptions, and by many of the Roman writers, that we cannot doubt of it.—Pliny‡ informs us that these temples, included in the portico of Octavia, were executed by Scaurus and Betrachus, two wealthy Lacedemonian artists, who offered to build them at their own expence,

* Suet. Life of Aug. c. 29.

† Piran. Ant. Rom. Tom. 4. tab. 39. to tab. 45. inclusive.

‡ Plin. l. 36. c. 5.

provided they were allowed to inscribe them with their names: but this honour having been refused them, they preserved their names by an ingenious hieroglyphic or symbol; viz. by engraving—"in spiris columnarum"*—a lizard and a frog—Σκαυρος and Βατραχος—being the Greek names of those architects as well as of these animals. That these buildings had been richly ornamented with painting and sculpture, appears from the Venus, known by the name of Medicis, because now preserved in the Medicean gallery at Florence, having been found at the Pescheria. It seems to be the same statue executed by Phidias and mentioned by Pliny†—"Et ipsum Phidiam tradunt scalpsisse marmora, *Veneremque* ejus esse Romæ in Octaviæ operibus *eximiæ pulchritudinis.*"—Ovid‡ may have alluded to this statue when he said—

"Ipsa Venus pubem, quoties velamina ponit,
Protegitur lævâ semireducta manu."

—The Venus of Medicis, the model of female beauty and elegance, is too universally known and justly admired to need the aid of my feeble pen to add to its celebrity.

Marcellus's theatre. No. 22.

Augustus, among his many great works to embellish Rome, built between the portico of Octavia and the Capitol hill, a magnificent theatre, on the ground where Julius Cæsar

* Plin. l. 36. c. 5.—Vide Winckelmann's Monumenti antichi inediti, p. 269.

† Plin. ib.—Pausanias, l. 1. c. 14. mentions a statue of *Venus Urania* of Parian marble, the work of Phidias.

‡ De Arte Amandi, l. 2. v. 613.

intended to have erected one,* and gave it the name of his nephew Marcellus, though then dead. Its remains are to be seen at the piazza called *Montanara:* and on a fragment of the ancient marble plan of Rome (Tab. 12.) I observe part of the *orchestra*, the *pulpitum*, the *proscenium*, and *postscenium* of this theatre. Piranesi,† with much labour, has traced and delineated what remains of Marcellus's theatre, and to his plates I beg leave to refer the curious reader. This theatre, like Vespasian's amphitheatre, was four stories high: but the two upper stories are entirely destroyed, and by their fall have buried in their ruins the seats that were below them, as well as the orchestra and stage. However, almost one half of the elevation of the first and second stories, of the circular part of the theatre, remains, and, though in many places much defaced, is a proof of the magnificence of this building. The portico of the ground story, which led to the different passages and staircases, is Doric, and is reckoned a model for the proportions of that order.‡ These columns are placed without bases, which, it was thought, gave a gravity to the building, and did not impede the access to the theatre. The second story is Ionic. Three steps went round the whole, by which the spectators entered into the lower portico, but which are now concealed, as well as half of the Doric order, by the modern street having become so much higher than the level of the ancient.

* Suet. Vita. J. Cæsaris, c. 44.

† Ant. Rom. Tom. 4. tab. 25 to tab. 37, inclusive.

‡ See page 5.

As the Roman theatres were all constructed on the same principles, it is unnecessary, after what I have remarked on Pompey's theatre,* to enter into a further detail of this of Marcellus.

In the precincts and on the ruins of this theatre, the Savelli family† built a great palace, which now belongs to the family of Orsini, Dukes of Gravina.

Prison of the Decemvirs, and temple of filial piety. No. 23.

Near to the theatre of Marcellus, stood the prison of the Decemvirs. On its foundations is built the church of St. Nicholas, called, from this circumstance, *in carcere*. In this prison was confined a man, according to Festus and Solinus, but according to Pliny‡ and Valerius Maximus,§ a woman, condemned to be starved to death. A daughter, however, lately brought to bed, got access to the prison, but was always carefully searched by the jailer, lest she should carry in provisions, and with her own milk long privately nourished her parent. At last when discovered, life was not only granted to the prisoner and daughter, but, as an encouragement to the great though natural virtue of filial duty, a pension also was conferred on them by the state: and, to commemorate this pious action, a temple was there erected to *filial piety*. This is said to have happened in the 604th year of Rome. A similar story, from Grecian history, is related by Hyginus.|| He says

* See page 289, &c. † See page 11. ‡ Pliny, l. 7. c. 36.
§ Val. Max. l. 5. c. 4. sect. 7. || Fab. 254.—See also Val. Max. l. 5. c. 4. ex. 1. sect. 1.

that Xantippe thus saved the life of her father Cimon, condemned to be starved in prison. Hence the painters, who have often represented this subject, call the one the Roman, and the other the Grecian Charity. They have generally and properly assumed, contrary to the narration of Pliny, and of Valerius Maximus, that the prisoner was a man; an old man and a young woman giving, no doubt, a greater contrast to their pictures, than the mother and the daughter would have done.

Having thus examined the most remarkable objects in the *Campus Martius*, I shall now endeavour to trace the interesting remains of Roman magnificence to be seen in the plain that surrounds the Palatine hill.

Porta Flumentana, and Porta Carmentalis. No. 24.

Before Aurelian added the Campus Martius to the city, here the ancient walls of Rome ran between the Capitol hill and the river, a little below the south end of the island of Æsculapius; and near to the bank of the river was the *Porta Flumentana*. The *Porta Carmentalis* seems to have been behind the Tarpeian rock.

Velabrum.

When Rome was confined to the Palatine hill, all the plain around it was a sort of marsh; and that part which extended from the Forum Romanum towards the Circus Maximus was called *Velabrum*. The etymology of *Velabrum* is uncertain. Some suppose that it is derived from *velatura*, the name given to the passage boats, in which people and goods were carried over this plain, when it was overflowed, which frequently happened, by the Tiber:

"Quà Velabra suo stagnabant flumine, quoque
Nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas."*

Others derive this name from *velum*, a veil, because those who exhibited public shows in the *Circus*, generally making their processions from the Forum to the Circus, hung the space between, which was the *Velabrum*, with veils or hangings.

Cloaca maxima. No. 25.

It was to drain these grounds, and to preserve the city in

* Propertius, l. 4. el. 10.

general clean, that Tarquinius Priscus constructed the *cloaca maxima.* It is one of the most ancient remains of Roman buildings; and it is surprising to find that an infant state should have been able to carry on a work, in which much art and great expence are so conspicuous. It is constructed with huge stones, regularly placed without cement, and forming three rows of arches. Its height and breadth were the same, viz. about eighteen palms Roman. It entered the Tiber between the *Pons Senatorius* and the temple of *Vesta:* and when the river is low its mouth is easily seen. It was reckoned, in the midst of the Roman grandeur, among the wonders of the world.* Although the greatest part of this useful and magnificent work is now choked up or destroyed, still there remains enough of it to show its former greatness. When these common sewers came to be obstructed in the time of the republic, the *censors* contracted to pay a thousand talents for cleaning and repairing them:† and the doing so anew, in the reign of Augustus, is reckoned among the great works of Agrippa.

" Hic, ubi nunc fora sunt, udæ tenuêre paludes;
Amne redundatis fossa madebat aquis.
Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras,
Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.
Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas;
Nil præter salices cassaque canna fuit."‡

In the *Velabrum* were several market-places, viz. the Forum Boarium, the Forum Olitorium, and the Forum Pescatorium; Forum Boarium. Forum Olitorium. Forum Pescatorium.

* Livy, l. 1. c. 38.—See page 7.

† Dion. Halic. l. 3. c. 20.

‡ Ovid. Fast. l. 6. v. 401.

besides many buildings, both public and private, now destroyed, and several streets, viz. the vicus Jugarius, Argiletus, Tuscus, &c. mentioned by the Roman writers; but the exact situations and extent of which I have not been able to ascertain.

Arch erected by the Argentarii, &c. No. 26.

An arch erected by the bankers and merchants of the Forum Boarium, to Septimius Severus, to his empress Julia, and to their son Caracalla, still exists, and is thus inscribed:—

IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIO . SEVERO . PIO . PERTINACI . AVG. ARABIC . ADIABENIC . PARTH. MAX. FELICISSIMO .
PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POTEST . XII. IMP. XI. COS. III. PATRI . PATRIAE . ET
[FELICISSIMOQVE . PRINCIPI . ET .
IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIO . ANTONINO . PIO . FELICI . AVG. TRIB. POTEST . VII. COS. III. P. P. PROCOS . FORTISSIMO .
[PII . FELICIS . AVG.
IVLIAE . AVG. MATRI . AVG. N. ET . CASTRORVM . ET . SENATVS . ET . PATRIAE . ET . IMP. CAES. AVRELI . ANTONINI .
PARTICI . MAXIMI . BRITANNICI . MAXIMI .
ARGENTARI . ET . NEGOTIANTES . BOARI . HVIVS loci qui invehunt DEVOTI . NVMINI . EORVM.

Engravings of this arch have been published by Bellori,* and by other antiquarians. From inspection it appears, that the original words in the third line of this inscription, from the word cos. had been erased, and in their place, in the hollow left by the erasure, were inscribed—III. P. P. PROCOS . FORTISSIMO . FELICISSIMOQVE . PRINCIPI . ET .—Now, it is highly probable that this monument was erected in honour of Geta, as well as of Caracalla, and that this last, after he murdered his brother Geta, caused his name to be erased from this inscription, as he did from every inscription in which it was found. Bellori is of opinion, that, in place of the words engraved on this

* Vide "Veteres arcus Augustorum triumphis insignes ex reliquiis quæ Romæ adhuc supersunt, cum imaginibus triumphalibus restituti, antiquis nummis notisque Jo. Petri Bellorii illustrati." Tab. 20 and 21.—Desgodetz, c. 19. p. 96.

erasure, it stood originally—ET . P . SEPTIMIO . GETAE . NOBILISSIMO . CAESARI.—And, in the fifth line,—PARTICI . MAXIMI . BRITANNICI . MAXIMI—are likewise engraved on an erasure: the original inscription seems probably to have been—ET . P. SEPTIMII . GETAE : NOBILISSIMI . CAESARIS.—It was long after this monument was erected, that Caracalla took the appellation of Parthicus and Britannicus. The sculpture on this arch, though in many places much defaced, resembles that on the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, which I shall afterwards examine. Here I saw sacrifices and various objects; but Bellori's plates will give the reader a clearer idea of the subjects represented on this monument than I can do by words. This arch now serves for a portico to the church of St. George *in Velabro* supposed by the antiquaries to be built on the ruins of the basilic of Sempronius.

Basilic of Sempronius.

Numa built a temple to Janus, the shutting or opening the doors of which was a signal of peace or war: Livy* places it at the lower end of the street called Argiletum,† which was in the Velabrum, towards the river; but of this celebrated temple, which had been often renewed, there are no vestiges. Indeed temples, in various parts of the city, had been dedicated to Janus.

Temple of Janus.

However, there is a singular building, commonly but improperly called a temple of Janus, near to the arch erected by

Janus Quadrifrons. No. 27.

* Livy, l. 1. c. 19.

† This quarter seems to have been much frequented. It was full of shops, particularly of booksellers: here too the persons belonging to the Circus, and the prostitutes had their habitations.

the *Argentarii*, which I have just mentioned. This building, which has no resemblance to a temple, probably served for an exchange, where merchants and money dealers assembled to transact their business. It is called *Janus Quadrifrons*, and, perhaps, it is the same Janus mentioned by Ovid,* where the debtor, afraid to meet his creditor, regretted the quick return of the term of payment—

"Qui Puteal Janumque timet, celeresque kalendas."

This Janus Quadrifrons is published by Pratesi† and by Serlio.‡ It is a square building, each front being 102 palms long; and a gate in the centre of every front, makes it a thoroughfare on all sides. It is constructed with large blocks of marble, and each front is ornamented with two stories of niches, viz. three above and three below the other, which make six on the side of every gate, and consequently twelve on each front. It had been decorated with columns, but these have been taken away. Above the cornice I observed a construction of brick, which had been added by the Frangipani family, when, in the middle age, they converted this monument into a small fortress.

Lacus Juturnus.

Below the Janus Quadrifrons, and opposite to the Palatine hill, there is a little canal of limpid water, which after turning a paper mill, and serving for a washing place, discharges itself into the *cloaca maxima*. I shall not waste time to trace out

* Remedia Amoris, v. 561.

† Ant. Rom. Tom 1. tab. 21. fig. 2.

‡ Serlio, Architettura, l. 3. p. cii.—Vide Marlianus, p. 54.

the source of this water; I shall only remark, that tradition makes this canal the lake of Juturna, where, as the mythologists pretend, Castor and Pollux were seen to water their horses, after the battle at the Lacus Regillus,* and then disappeared.

House of Nicolas Crescens. No. 28.

Near to the Palatine or Senatorian bridge, now known by the name of the *Ponte Rotto*, I observed the remains of a building called, by some authors, the house of Pontius Pilate, and by others that of Cola di Rienzo,† the celebrated tyrant of Rome, in the time of Pope Clement VI. But, by a barbarous inscription, of the tenth century, still remaining, and published by Abbot Nerini,‡ it plainly appears to have been the house of Nicolas, the son of Crescens and Theodora. This is probably that Crescens, buried at St. Alexis,§ whom Baronius|| supposes to be the son of Pope John X. who was the son of Pope Sergius and Marozia. An account of the amours and infamous lives of these pontiffs is transmitted to us in lively colours by the historian Luitprandus, ¶ Bishop of Cremona.

* See page 61.

† Cola di Rienzo is an abbreviation of Nicolas the son of Laurence.—Clement VI. was elected Pope in the year 1342.—See Vita Nicolai Laurentii apud Muratorium, Ant. Ital. medii ævi, Tom. 3. p. 399.—See Gibbon's Rom. Hist. Tom. 6. in 4to. p. 572, &c.—See also conjuration de Nicolas de Rienzi, par le Pere Cerceau.

‡ D. Felicis Nerinii de Templo et Cœnobio S. S. Bonifacii et Alexii Historia Monumenta. p. 318.

§ Nerinius, ib. p. 83, &c. || Annal. Eccles. ad annum 996. sect. 11.

¶ Apud Muratorium, Rer. Ital. Script. Tom. 2.—See Gibbon's Rom. Hist. Vol. 5. in 4to. p. 153, &c.

Though this building, published by Piranesi,* cannot be called a Roman antiquity, yet as it is constructed with materials taken from ancient monuments, and is in itself singular, it deserves the attention of the curious.

Temple of Fortuna Virilis. No. 29.

Fortune could not but have many votaries: under various appellations temples were often dedicated to this inconstant deity. Servius Tullius, in gratitude for his prosperous fortune, built, near to the Tiber, a temple to *Fortuna Virilis*, which is now converted into the church of *S. Maria Egiziaca*, belonging to the Arminians. The elegant fluted Ionic columns which ornament this temple, and which served as models for the proportions of this order,‡ show that it was not the original temple built by Servius, but that it must have been rebuilt at the time when architecture was in great perfection at Rome. It seems to have suffered from fire. The body of the temple is built with that stone which the Romans call *peperino* and the portico with *travertino*: but to render the whole uniform, and to conceal what had been defaced by fire, it was covered with a fine stucco. This temple, like many of the ancient buildings of Rome, now appears to great disadvantage, because the high basement, on which it stands, and even part of the columns, are covered with the ground, which is so much raised above the level of the ancient street.—The form of this temple is a parallelogram: its exterior length, including the portico, is about 78 palms Roman, and its breadth 48 palms: the interior, or *cella*, of the temple was about 45

* Ant. Rom. Tom. 1. tab. 21. fig. 1.

† Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. 4.

‡ See page 5.

palms long, and 32 palms broad. But, to enlarge the nave of the present church, the wall which separated the *cella* from the portico was taken down, and the beautiful little portico, which was open, is now walled up. It is, indeed, unnecessary for me to describe particularly this building, since Palladio,* Desgodetz,† and Piranesi ‡ have done so, and to whose plates I beg leave to refer.

Temple of Vesta. No. 30.

On the banks of the river, a little below the temple of *Fortuna Virilis*, I observed a small *rotonda*, which tradition makes a temple of *Vesta;* but some antiquaries suppose it to have been the temple of *Hercules;* Nardini,§ indeed, seems to think that it was that of *Voluptas;* and Piranesi|| calls it that of *Cybelé*. Such is the uncertainty that too often attends our inquiries into Roman antiquities! It is now converted into a church called *S. Maria dell' Sole*, or *S. Stephano delle carozze*.

This is one of these temples which Vitruvius ¶ names *peripteri*. Of these spherical temples some had no particular porch to mark the front, but were entirely surrounded with an open colonnade; such is the temple in question, as well as that of *Vesta* at Tivoli;** others had only a porch in front, but no colonnade round the body of the temple; such is the superb Pantheon in the Campus Martius.††

* Dell' Architettura, l. 4. c. 13. † Les Edifices antiques de Rome, c. 6. p. 41. ‡ Ant. Rom. Tom. 4. tab. 49, 50, 51, and 52.
§ Rom. Ant. l. 7. c. 3. || Ant. Rom. Tom. 1. p. 22. and tab. 22. fig. 1.
¶ L. 4. c. 7. ** See Appendix. No. II.
†† See page 277.

Though this temple of *Vesta*, for such I reckon it, is much defaced, enough of it remains to show its former elegance. The interior, or *cella*, is very small, its diameter being only the length of one of the columns, including the capital and base, which is the proportion laid down by Vitruvius for such temples. The wall of the *cella* is built with white marble, the blocks of which are so nicely joined that it seems to be formed of one block. The twenty columns of the same marble, which form the colonnade, are placed at about eight feet from the wall. The *abacus* of the capitals of these columns have their angles acute, that is, they are not cut off, as is generally practised.

So much of this temple remains, that it would not have been difficult to have restored and preserved for ages this monument of Roman taste. But in place of doing so, and repairing the cornice and frieze, which are entirely destroyed, beams have been laid over the columns, on which is raised an ugly roof, like that of a windmill. The open colonnade is now shut up, by building walls between the intercolumniation, so that only about a third of each column is now seen. The space between the colonnade and the *cella*, on the left hand as we enter, serves for a sacristy to the little church; and the space on the right hand is degraded into a farrier's shop. Delineations of this temple have been often published, particularly by Palladio* and by Desgodetz;† and Piranesi‡ has given what remains of it, stripped of its modern additions.

* L. 4. c. 14. † C. 4. ‡ Ut supra.

The worship of *Vesta*, or that of fire, had been early introduced int Italy. Virgil* makes Æneas, amidst the conflagration of Troy, carry away with him the statue of *Vesta*, and the perpetual fire consecrated to her:—

——"Vestamque potentem,
Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem."

Numa Pompilius built a temple to *Vesta* between the Palatine and Capitol hills,† but of which there are no remains. At the same time, this great legislator of Rome, instituted a society of vestals, or noble virgin priestesses, to perform all the sacred rites to the goddess, and particularly to watch over the fire, that it might always continue burning. If it happened to go out, it was reckoned to presage some dreadful calamity to the state, and severely were the vestals chastised for this negligence.

But besides the temple built by Numa, at the side of the Palatine hill, *Vesta* had another erected to her on the banks of the Tiber. Virgil seems to point out these two temples when he says—

——"Vestaque mater,‡
Quæ *Tuscum Tiberim*, et Romana palatia servas."‡

The Tiber was anciently the boundary between Tuscany and Latium: hence the poet gives the epithet of *Tuscum* to that

* Æn. 2. v. 296.
† Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 17. sect. 3.—and Plutarch's Life of Numa.
‡ Georg. 1. v. 498.

river. Tolomeus* says—"Tuscia in oriente habet Latium et Tiberim.

The Temple of *Vesta*, on the banks of the Tiber, which I am now examining, must, from its elegant Greek architecture, have been built at a much later period than that of Numa. By whom it was built we cannot discover: but that it existed in the time of Horace, we may conclude from his verses, when describing an inundation of the river he says†—

"Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta regis,
Templaque Vestæ."

The poet using the plural *templa*, may have had in view both the temples dedicated to this favourite deity.

Plutarch, ‡ mentioning the temple of *Vesta*, says that it was of an orbicular form, for the preservation of the sacred fire; intending thereby to express not so much the earth or Vesta, as the whole universe, in the centre of which the Pythagoreans placed fire, which they called *Vesta* and *Unity*.

In my account of Tivoli, § I observed that the temples of

* Geographia, l. 3.
† L. 1. od. 2.
‡ De Iside et Osiride
§ Appendix. No. II.

Vesta were round, in allusion to the figure of our earth: it seems, however, probable that the worship of *Vesta* or fire had been borrowed, though not rightly understood, from Asia, and that it was properly the worship of the sun, which a more ancient and a more improved astronomy placed in the centre of the universe; and from which Pythagoras had taken his system:* a system revived by Copernicus, and demonstrated by the immortal Newton.

Temple of Pudicitia Patricia. No. 31.

The church dedicated to *S. Maria in Cosmedin*, opposite to the temple of *Vesta*, is no doubt built on the ruins of an ancient temple. The antiquaries generally reckon, that this was the temple of *Pudicita*, or chastity, belonging to the Patrician matrons, and from which the plebeians were excluded.† For such was the distinction of ranks, during the consular state of Rome, between the patrician and plebeian ladies, that the former would not allow the latter to be present with them at their sacred rites. They even excluded Virginia, of noble birth, because she had married the consul Volumnius, a plebeian. This gave rise to the temple of *Pudicitia Plebeia*, which Virginia erected in her own house, in *Vico longo*,‡ but of which I can trace no remain. Indeed the temple of *Pudicitia Patricia* is so defaced and altered by the modern building, that I cannot decide, with any degree of certainty, on its

* Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne, par Bailly, l. 8. sect. 3. et Eclaircissemens.

† T. Livius, l. 10. c. 23.—See a curious medal of Magnia Urbica, the wife of Carinus, on the reverse of which is a Pudicitia. Ficoroni Rom. Ant. l. 1. c. 6.

‡ Livius, ib.

former state. But, from marble columns built up in the walls of this church, the ancient form of the temple seems to have been square; and we may presume that it was spacious and magnificent.

From a tradition that S. Augustin, before his conversion, taught rhetoric here, this church of *S. Maria* is sometimes called *in Scuola Greca.* But the vulgar and general appellation of *Bocca della verità* has been given to it, from a large and hideous marble mask, placed on the wall of its porch. This mask, by some writers, is supposed to represent Jupiter, into whose mouth those who were to make oath, before a judge, put their hand—"Jovem lapidem jurare;"*—and if they swore falsely, it was believed that the idol miraculously shut its ponderous jaws, and crushed the hand of the perjurer. But whoever examines this mask attentively will be of opinion, that it either represents some river-god, or that it served for an ornament to a fountain or aqueduct.

* Cicero, when his friend Trebatius became an Epicurean, asks him—"Quomodo autem tibi placebit Jovem lapidem jurare, cum scias Jovem iratum esse nemini posse?"—Ep. Fam. l. 7. ep. 12.

† Vide Fabretti de Columna Trajani Syntagma, p. 305. c. 9.

The Circus Maximus. No. 32.

I proceed to the *Circus Maximus.* It was so named from its being the most extensive of all the circuses in and about Rome. It is situated on the plain, which was called *Vallis Murciæ*, and now known by the name of *Vallé di Circhi*, between the Palatine and Aventine hills. But so few fragments of it remain, I cannot give its exact delineation: the ground on which it stood being now divided into and employed for kitchen gardens.

This circus was overlooked by the imperial palace, from the height of which the emperors had such a full view of it, that they could even there give signals to begin the races.

The games of the circus, in which religion, politics, and amusement were combined, seem to have been coeval with Rome. Such probably were the games which Romulus proclaimed, to attract his Sabine neighbours to Rome, when he meditated to carry off their women, to increase the population of his infant state. These games, simple no doubt in the beginning, came at last to be performed with the utmost art and splendour.

Tarquinius Priscus was the first who gave a form to the Circus Maximus. He surrounded it with covered seats, for till then the spectators stood on scaffolds supported by beams.* But, from time to time enlarged and embellished, particularly

* Dion. Hal. l. 3. c. 20. sect. 4.

by the emperors, it became a most superb building, worthy of the grandeur of Rome.

Julius Cæsar added to the extent of this circus, and surrounded it with a *euripus* or canal, supplied with water from the rivulet *Crabra* or *Marana*,* which runs between the Aventine hill and the circus, and discharges itself into the Tiber between the Palatine and Sublician bridges. This *euripus*, ten feet deep, and as many broad,† was no doubt a defence to the spectators against the chariots, but must have been dangerous to the latter and their conductors.

The Circus Maximus, thus improved by Julius, was, according to Pliny,‡ three *stadia* long, and one *stadium* broad, and could contain two hundred and sixty thousand spectators. But these measures do not exactly agree with those given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.§ The great extent of this circus made Juvenal say—

"Totam hodie Romam circus capit."‖

Mr. Addison¶ applied this poetical exaggeration to Vespasian's amphitheatre—

"That on its public shows unpeopled Rome."

* See page 73. † Dion. Hal. l. 3. c. 20. sect. 4.

‡ Lib. 36. c. 15.—A *stadium* contained six hundred and twenty-five feet, and eight *stadia* was reckoned equal to an Italian mile. § Ib. sect. 5.

‖ Sat. 11. v. 195. ¶ Letter from Italy to Lord Halifax.

The circus no doubt contained more spectators than the amphitheatre could have done.

Claudius rebuilt the *carceres* with marble, and gilded the *metæ*, which had formerly been of common stone and wood; and assigned proper places for the senators, who till then seem to have mingled promiscuously with the people.*

The *carceres* were placed at the north end of this circus. But they are so destroyed that I cannot with certainty decide, whether they and the *metæ* were constructed on the same ingenious principle, which I remarked in those of the circus of Caracalla,† by which the horses and chariots all entered the course with equal advantage. I am, indeed, inclined to think that the same construction was observed here, especially after that Claudius renewed the *carceres*. I find circuses delineated on various medals, but these are too small to preserve their exact proportions, to allow me to draw any certain conclusion from them.

As no part of the exterior of this circus remains, I cannot describe its decoration. It is, indeed, generally supposed that it was surrounded, except at the end where the *carceres* were placed, with three open porticos, above each other, which, like those of the theatres and amphitheatres, led to the different passages, *vomitorii*, and seats; and thus served for an easy access and retreat to the numerous spectators.

* Sueton. V. Tib. Claudii Cæs. c. 21.

† See page 99, et seq.

Some antiquaries reckon that many of the lower arches of the circus served for shops to merchants, but from which they were obliged to remove their goods, before the exhibition of the games. It would seem, however, that there was a regular but lower range of buildings, between the circus and Palatine hill, called *tabernæ*, which with the circus formed a street. These *tabernæ* served not only for shops to merchants, but for brothels to licenced prostitutes. From the *fornices*, in which these last were lodged, is derived *fornicatio*. These prostitutes paid a tax to the state: Alexander Severus * forbad the money arising from this disgraceful tax to be paid into the treasury, but that it should be applied to the repairing the buildings for public shows, viz. theatres, amphitheatres, circuses, &c.† It was chiefly about these places of public resort the prostitutes assembled. Thus Lampridius‡ has given us a picture of the debauches of the infamous Heliogabalus—"Omnes de circo, de theatro, de stadio, et omnibus locis, et balneis meretrices collegit in ædes publicas, et apud eas concionem habuit quasi militarem, dicens eas *commilitones:* disputavitque de generibus schematum et voluptatum."—And Juvenal says§—

——"et ad circum jussas prostrare puellas."

From my remarks on Caracalla's circus,‖ and the plan of them, added to the present observations, I flatter myself that the reader will be enabled to form a distinct idea of circuses in general.

* Lampridius's Life of Alexander Severus, c. 24. † Ibid.
‡ Life of Heliogabalus, c. 26. § Sat. 3. v. 65. ‖ See page 99, et seq.

I cannot conclude this article without mentioning the two great Egyptian obelisks that formerly ornamented the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus.* Two obelisks.

The obelisk placed here by Augustus* is covered with hieroglyphics, and is supposed to have been executed by order of Psammiticus or Semneserteus,† who began to reign in Egypt 408 years before Christ, and governed that country twelve years. The length of its shaft, or ray, without the pedestal, is one hundred and ten palms. Sixtus Quintus employed Fontana, his architect, to remove this obelisk from the circus, and to place it in the *piazza del' Popolo,* where it serves as a magnificent ornament to that beautiful entry to the city. The height of the whole obelisk, including the base, and the cross with which it is surmounted, is, according to Fontana, one hundred and sixty-three palms.

The other obelisk, placed likewise on the *spina* of this circus, was the highest of these wonderful monuments of Egyptian art brought to Rome. It was first removed, by order of Constantine the Great, from Thebes to Alexandria, with an intention to have sent it to his new city of Constantinople: but, some years after his death, it was conveyed from Alexandria to Rome, by his son Constantius. It was after he had visited Rome, in the year 358, that, struck with its magnificence, which he found greater than even fame herself had announced, he resolved to add this extraordinary obelisk to its splendour.

* See page 261. † M. Mercati de gli Obelischi di Roma, c. 19.

The reasons given by Monsignor Mercati* leave little doubt but that this is the obelisk executed by Ramises or Ramses, the sixth king of that name. Its shaft or ray was one hundred and forty-eight palms high, exclusive of its pedestal of red granite, composed of different pieces; but these pieces were so broken, that Mercati, employed for this purpose by Sixtus Quintus, could with much difficulty unite them, and copy the twenty-four hexameter verses, six lines of which were inscribed on each side of the pedestal, and which this learned prelate published, with observations.†

This is the obelisk which the celebrated pontiff, Sixtus Quintus, ordered Fontana to erect at the church of St. John of Lateran. The architect was obliged to give it a new pedestal, and to cut off four palms, much defaced, from the bottom of its ray: yet the height of the whole, from the ground to the top of the cross placed on it, is two hundred and four palms Roman.

Ammianus Marcellinus‡ has recorded a translation in Greek of the hieroglyphics engraved on an obelisk. Mercati§ thinks it is the interpretation of part of Augustus's obelisk, now placed at the *piazza del' Popolo:* but some antiquaries apply this interpretation to Constantius's obelisk at St. John of Lateran. Be this as it may, Ammianus copied this interpretation from Hermapion, supposed to have been an Egyptian. It seems to contain little more than some flattering titles to Rhamestus:

* Mercati de gli Obelischi di Roma, c. 31.
† Ib. c. 32
‡ Lib. 17.
§ Mercati, ib. c. 19.

but the text is so corrupted, it is difficult to make out its meaning, and perhaps the whole is a forgery by some Egyptian. However, Mercati* has published a Latin translation of it, which he has accompanied with remarks.

Septizonium of Severus. No. 33.

At the side of the Palatine hill, opposite to the church and convent of St. Gregory,† stood the *Septizonium* of Septimius Severus. It is reckoned to have beeen a sepulchral monument of that emperor. From its vast height, seven stories, it probably took its name. No vestige of it now remains; but it is said, part of it existed in the time of Pope Sixtus Quintus, which he removed, and employed thirty eight of its columns to ornament the church of St. Peter. Delineations of what remained of this monument, immediately before it was entirely destroyed by Sixtus Quintus, show that it had been magnificent. Claudius Duchetus, in the year 1582, which was prior to the reigh of Sixtus V. published an engraving of it, in which we observe part of the first, second, and third stories.

Constantine's triumphal arch. No. 34.

Near to Vespasian's amphitheatre, between the Palatine and Celian hills, stands the triumphal arch of Constantine, which is the most entire of all these proud monuments erected by flattery. His victory over Maxentius‡ procured him this honour from the senate, and the protection he gave to the Christian religion, the appellation of *great* from the church. We may perhaps ascribe the superior preservation of this arch to the gratitude of the popes, and particularly to Clement XII.

* Mercati de gli Obelischi di Roma, c. 19 et 20.

† See page 181.

‡ See page 38.

who repaired it, and restored the heads of the statues, of the eight Dacian captives, placed on the columns, which are said to have been stolen and carried to Florence by Laurence of Medici.*

This monument consists of three arches or passages, viz. a great arch in the centre, and a smaller one on each side; and the whole is richly ornamented with fine columns, and sculptured marbles

The following inscription, published by Gruter,† and other authors, is repeated above the centre arch, on both sides of the monument.

IMP . CAES . FL . CONSTANTINO . MAXIMO
P . F . AVGVSTO . S . P . Q . R .
QVOD . INSTINCTV . DIVINITATIS . MENTIS
MAGNITVDINE . CVM . EXERCITV . SVO
TAM . DE . TYRANNO . QVAM . DE . OMNI . EIVS
FACTIONE . VNO . TEMPORE IVSTIS
REMPVBLICAM . VLTVS . EST . ARMIS
ARCVM . TRIVMPHIS . INSIGNEM . DICAVIT .

Within the centre arch, on one side, I read—LIBERATORI VRBIS—and on the other—FVNDATORI . QVIETIS .—

Over the small arch, on the left hand going from the circus, I observed—SIC . X . —and over the small arch, on the right hand SIC . XX.—On the side towards the amphitheatre, over the same arches, is marked—VOTIS . X .—and VOTIS . XX.—

* Venuti, Ant. di Roma, page 13. ed. in 4to. † Page 282. No. 2.

This triumphal arch seems to have been erected three years after the defeat of Maxentius: but we find no mention in the inscription of the celebrated *vision of the cross*, unless it is intended by the ambiguous expression—"Instinctu divinitatis"—and even these two words have been thought, by some critics,* to be a superinduction.

In this arch we have a remarkable instance of the decline of sculpture from the time of Trajan, when that ingenious art was in great perfection at Rome, to that of Constantine. Architecture, indeed, had not declined so fast, for the form of this arch is elegant.

The senate, desirous to erect a magnificent monument to Constantine, and not finding artists capable to do so, ordered the superb triumphal arch of Trajan to be taken down, and its beautiful bas-relieves, and rich materials, to be employed to ornament this of Constantine.† Besides the barbarity of destroying a monument belonging to so great an emperor as Trajan, they did not perceive the absurdity of employing sculptures that recorded the actions of the latter only, and which had no connection with the history of Constantine. This arch may therefore be still more properly called Trajan's than Constantine's. But it is easy to distinguish the superior elegance of the bas-relieves of Trajan, preserved on this arch, from the half Gothic ones added to celebrate the actions of Constantine.

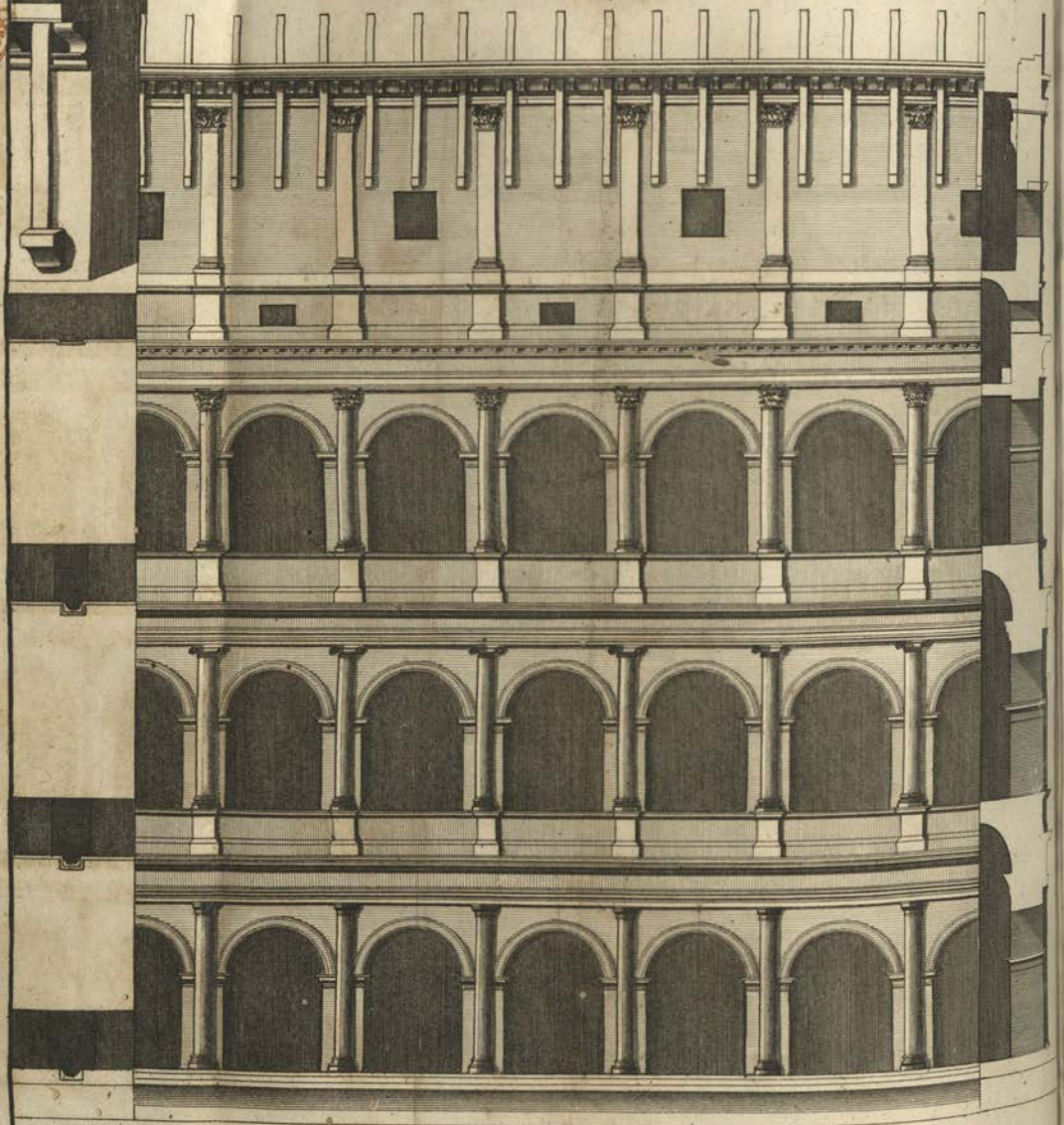
* Venuti, Ant. di Roma, p. 12.

† See page 217.

Sensible that I could not, without the assistance of plates, give a proper description of this triumphal arch, and the various subjects represented on it, I beg leave to refer the curious reader to Pietro Santo Bartoli's engravings, published by Bellori.* But those who examine, on the arch itself, the bas-relieves executed in the time of Constantine, will readily perceive that the ingenious Bartoli has improved them in his prints.

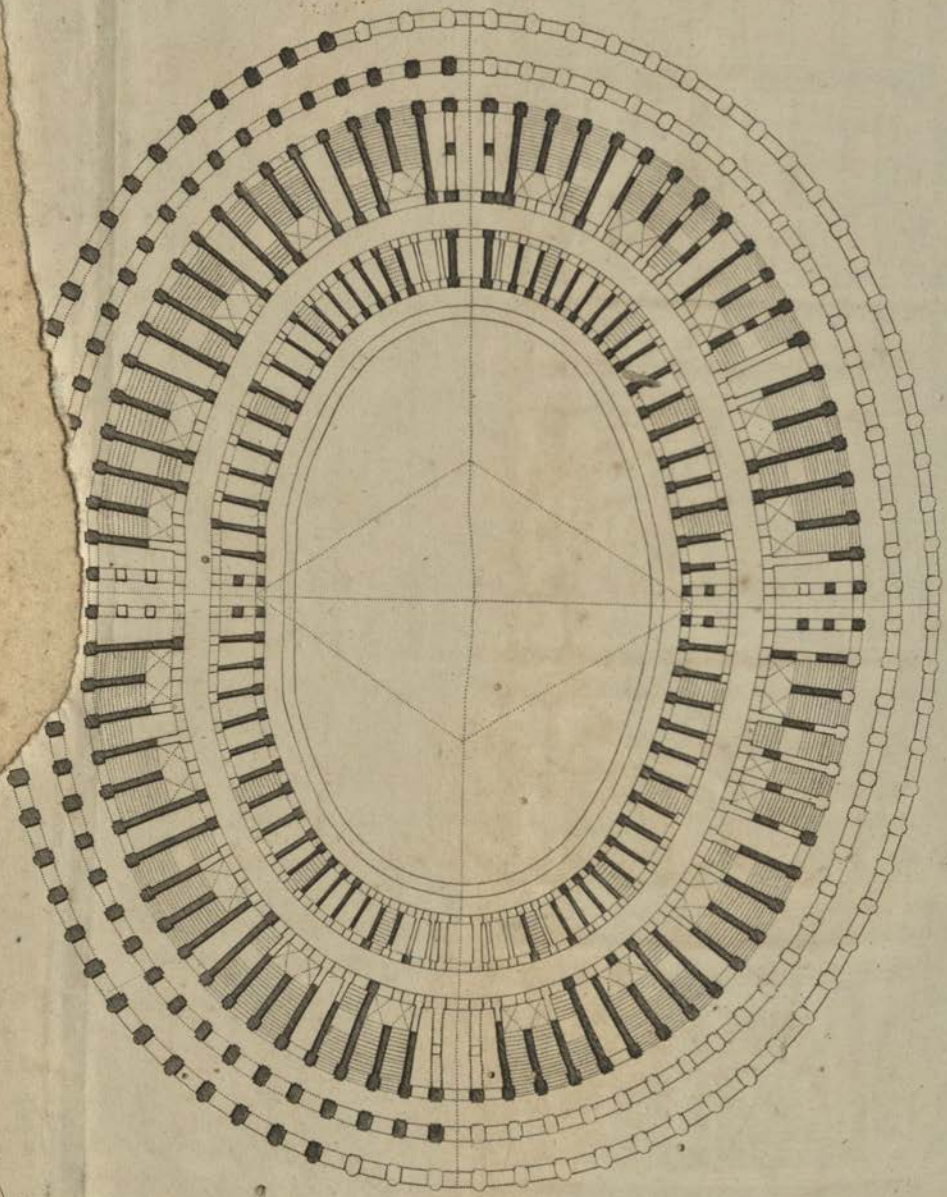
* Veteres Arcus Augustorum, &c. tab. 23. ad tab. 47, inclusive.

ELEVATION of a part of the EXTERIOUR of VESPASIAN'S AMPHITHEATRE.



LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ASIATIC

PLAN of VESPASIAN's AMPHITHEATRE.



600

700

800 Roman palms

VESPASIAN'S AMPHITHEATRE.

No. 35.

The next object that attracts the eye, even of the most inattentive observer, is the amphitheatre, commonly called the *Colosseo*,† begun by Vespasian and finished by Titus.‡ This stupendous building, considering the purposes for which it was intended, was the most complete that ingenuity ever imagined, or art executed. If with wonder we still view it, in its ruinous state, what must have been our astonishment to have seen it entire, and above eighty thousand spectators conveniently placed on its seats!§ Indeed Martial might justly say||—

"Omnis Cæsareo cedat labor amphitheatro:
Unum præ cunctis fama loquatur opus."

Although the terms *theatre* and *amphitheatre* have been often used without distinction, by writers both ancient and modern, yet the difference of their form, as well as their use, is well

† In the low ages it was called *Colisæum* or *Colosseo*, from the vastness of the building, and not from a Colossean statue of Nero, supposed to have stood near it. See Scipio Maffei degli Anfiteatri, l. 1. c. 4.

‡ Suetonius, V. Titi, c. 7. § Besides a vast number, who could not find seats, stood on the *præcinctiones* and other parts of the building.

|| De Spectaculis, ep. 1.

known. The first was half of a circle or oval, and served for the representation of dramatic compositions; whereas the second was an entire circle, or oval, and appropriated for exhibiting the combats of gladiators, the hunting of wild beasts, and sometimes for those naval fights called *naumachia*. Hence the amphitheatre was a double theatre. Both were admirably contrived for these different uses.*

The bloody combats of gladiators seem to have been peculiar to the Hetrurians, from whom the Romans copied them, as well as many of their religious ceremonies. We find on Hetruscan monuments representations of such combats, and men in attitudes of killing one another, with various weapons, Gladiators fought both at funerals and festivals. Such combats were considered as agreeable to the dead, and diverting to the living. They were no doubt well adapted to the genius of a fierce and warlike people, and contributed not a little to inspire them with courage. Indeed, a savage patriotism, which produced a relentless heroism, and an ardent attendance on these sanguinary shows, could not but steel the hearts of the Romans, and render them callous to the finer feelings of nature. Hence my amiable, ingenious, and worthy friend, George Keate, Esq. in his elegant poem, Ancient and Modern Rome, well observes—

* Dio Cassius describes the amphitheatre thus—"Theatrum quoque ad venationem aptum ædificavit, quod, quia uniquaque haberet sedes, scænaque caret, amphitheatrum cognominatum est." Hist. Rom. l. 43.—Hence Cassiodorus calls an amphitheatre—"Theatrum venatorium." Var. l. 5. 42.

——"The pursuit of arms
Had check'd each softer impulse, and forbad
To call compassion virtue."

When the Athenians were deliberating, whether they should have gladiators as well as the Corinthians, the Philosopher Demonax advised them not to vote for it, till they had pulled down the altar of *mercy*.—Though Cicero* does not approve of these bloody shows, yet I do not remember to have met with any of the Roman writers who have expressly condemned them, except Seneca.†

Man can methodize even his prejudices. Thus colleges were instituted for the education of gladiators.‡ They were classed into different kinds, and distinguished by their dress and weapons. This variety increased the pleasure of the spectator. The *retiarius* commonly attacked the *secutor*, and sometimes the *myrmillo*: the *myrmillo* was matched with the *thrax*, &c. But it would lengthen my remarks, beyond my intention, to give a particular account of the various kinds of gladiators, their arms, and manner of fighting. I shall therefore beg leave to refer the curious reader to the learned dissertation of abbot Vitale§ on this subject, I shall only here observe, that the Romans carried the luxury, if I may so call it, of these combats so far, that the instructors, named *lanistæ*, of the gladiators, not only taught them the art of attack and defence,

* See page 295. † Epist. l. 7. ep. 95. ‡ See page 60.
§ See page 61.

but, when wounded, to throw themselves into elegant attitudes, and to die gracefully.

These barbarous combats were exhibited with great pomp and solemnity. Before the construction of amphitheatres, they were commonly given either in the *forum* or *circus*. The first public exhibition of this sort, seems to have been in the 490th year of Rome; when, at the instance of the *Bruti*, three couples of gladiators fought, in memory of their deceased father, and to do honour to his obsequies.* Afterwards, to flatter the people, great personages, and whoever were elected into certain offices, particularly that of ædile, presented combats of gladiators, as a grateful acknowledgement for the favour conferred on them. They were called *munera*, donatives or gifts.

From Pliny† we learn that the first show of wild beasts, brought into the circus, was in the year of Rome 502. They were the elephants taken from the Carthaginians, on the victory obtained by Lucius Metellus, in Sicily. But the making them fight was only introduced about the middle of that age. However, luxury increasing with riches, Marcus Scaurus, in his ædileship, exhibited one hundred and fifty tigers, five crocodiles, and an hippopotamus. But Pompey, on dedicating his theatre, as I have observed,‡ exceeded all the shows hitherto given to the people. He presented four hundred and ten tigers, five hundred lions, a number of elephants, the lynx, the rhinoceros, and other large beasts, many of which were

* T. Liv. c. 42. l. 16. † Nat. Hist. l. 8. c. 7. ‡ See page 295.

brought from Æthiopia. Julius Cæsar, when ædile, gave the people a combat of three hundred and twenty couple of gladiators: but, after he ended the civil war, he divided his hunting games so as to last five days. In these shows five hundred men on foot, and three hundred on horseback, were made to fight with twenty elephants, on whose backs turrets were placed, and defended by sixty men.

The huntings of wild beasts, having become so magnificent, it was necessary to contrive a building where they might be performed more conveniently than in the circus. Because the length of the circus, proper for the chariot races, was improper for these combats; the distance, as well as elevation of the *spina* and *metæ*, rendering it difficult for the people to see. And, indeed, no form of building could be better calculated for such shows than an amphitheatre, which, as I have just remarked, is two theatres joined together. Here the spectators, placed round a circle or oval, with nothing to interrupt their view, and secured from the danger of the wild beasts, could fully enjoy the sight of these favourite shows.

The amphitheatres at first were only temporary, and built of wood. The first built of stone was that erected in the Campus Martius by Statilius Taurus, in the time of Augustus, as I have already mentioned;* and which was probably constructed after the death of Vitruvius, since he takes no notice of such a building. But the most magnificent ever erected was this of Vespasian. Nor did Martial without reason assert,

* See page 267

that the pyramids and mausoleums of Egypt ought to yield to it in grandeur.* He caused the ground, which Nero had appropriated for his *ponds*, adjacent to his *golden house*, to be drained, and there built his amphitheatre:

"Hic, ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant."†

When Vespasian destroyed the buildings of that tyrant, he and Titus, no doubt, employed many of their materials for constructing the amphitheatre, which is placed between the Palatine, Celian, and Esquiline hills.

A delineation of this vast building will convey to the reader a juster idea of it, than I can do by words. I might indeed refer to the plans, elevations, and measures given by the architect Cavalier Carlo Fontana:‡ but as this splendid book is not common, I shall copy his general plan and elevation, on which I shall offer some remarks.

Almost one half of the exterior of the building, marked on the plan § with a black tint, remains entire, but the interior is much defaced. Indeed the state of the amphitheatre of Verona is the reverse of this: little of its exterior remains, but its interior, having been from time to time repaired, is entire. By a careful examination of these two, we may form a just idea of an amphitheatre.‖

* De Spectaculis, ep. 1. † Ib. ep. 2.

‡ L'Anfiteatro Flavio descritto e delineato, dal Cavaliere Carlo Fontana. Nel' Haia appresso Vaillant, 1725, fol. § See plate VIII.

‖ Vide Scipio Maffei degli Anfiteatri, e singolarmente del Veronese.

From the plan and elevation, it appears that this amphitheatre is an oval, whose greatest diameter, or length, between wall and wall, is about 845 palms Roman,* its breadth 700 palms; and the height of the whole building is about 230 palms.

The *cavea*† or *arena*, which served for the field of battle, is, according to Fontana,‡ about 410 palms long, and 260 broad; but Nolli,§ who published the accurate plan of Rome, makes it 450 palms long, and 305 broad. It was called *arena* from the sand with which it was covered, in order to prevent the combatants from slipping, as well as to absorb the blood there shed. Hence the gladiators were often named *arenarii*. The pavement of the *arena*, greatly covered by the rubbish, was much lower than at present.

The external elevation of the amphitheatre forms four stories or flats.‖ An open portico, divided into eighty arches, surrounds each of the three first flats. The arches are decorated with columns of different orders of architecture; viz. the first is Doric, the second Ionic, and the third Corinthian. The fourth flat, which is not, like the others, an open portico, is ornamented with Corinthian, or, as some writers call them, composite pilasters. There are forty windows round this upper flat; that is, a window over each second arch of the lower flats. On a level with the tops of these windows, there are, between each pilaster, three mo-

* See Advertisement, page iv. † See page 64. ‡ L. 2. c. 1.

§ See Marangoni dell' Anfiteatro Flavio, sect. 32. ‖ See plate IX.

dillions or projections, each of which supported a beam, that passed through the great cornice of the building, and which served for extending the awning, which I shall afterwards mention. Three broad steps, surrounding the whole building, by which the spectators entered the lower portico, could not but add to the beauty of the whole. But these steps are now covered with earth and rubbish.

The eighty arches of the ground flat, served for so many entrances to the amphitheatre. Each arch was numbered thus—I. II. III. IV. &c. Thirty-one of these arches, so numbered, still remain, viz. from No. XXIII. to LIIII. By this means the people could enter into, and retire from the amphitheatre in a short time, without any confusion. For each *curia*, or division of the people, had their entrances allotted to them. The same rule was observed in the circus.

Some authors say that there were four entrances which led to the *arena:* but I think there were only two, viz. at the east and west extremities, and which remain, and serve for the present entrances. By these the gladiators, wild beasts, and machines, used in their shows, were introduced into the *arena*. The walls of the *podium*, still remaining, show that there were no entrances to it from these sides.

The amphitheatre is distant from the Esquiline hill the breadth of the road only. On one of the arches, viz. between No. XXXVIII. and XXXIX. there is no number marked. But over this arch I observed a little projection, which seems

to have been the abutment of a bridge, that the emperor probably, caused to be thrown over, from his palace and baths on this hill, and by which he and his suit entered the amphitheatre.

The interior of the amphitheatre was divided into the *arena*, and four circular corridors, called *vomitorii*. Each of these corridors led to the staircases of the different flats, and to the seats.

The *arena* was surrounded by a strong wall, about twelve or perhaps fifteen feet high, on which were placed rails and other conveniences, to prevent the wild beasts from springing on the spectators; and to render them still more secure, there seems to have been a ditch or *euripus*, full of water, between the *arena* and the wall.

On the top of this wall was a platform, called the *podium*: and, being nearest to the shows, it was reckoned the most honourable place. Here, therefore, were seated the emperor, the high magistrates, senators, and all those entitled to *curule chairs*, as well as the priests and vestal virgins. I cannot, indeed, but express my surprise, that these ladies, esteemed for their purity and virtue, should have witnessed spectacles so offensive to chastity, and so shocking to humanity! how different were the manners of the Grecians, who would not permit a woman, under pain of death, to assist at the Olympic games, where no blood was shed, in order only to preserve their modesty, because the actors were all naked!*

* Pausanias, l. 5. c. 6.

From behind the *podium*, the seats arose to the summit of the building. They were divided into four divisions, called *præcinctiones* or *baltei*, corresponding to the four corridors, or *vomitorii*, that led to them. On these *præcinctiones* many spectators, as I have observed, placed themselves, when they could not procure seats.

The patricians and plebeians seem to have sat promiscuously at the public games, till Scipio Africanus obtained separate seats for the senators.* But, in the time of Cicero, L. Otho procured fourteen seats, next behind the senators, for the equestrian order, who till then mingled with the people. Such distinctions, however, in a popular state, are always disagreeable, and often disturb the public peace. This was particularly the case at Rome, where the people thought it an indignity to be removed farther than formerly, from the sight of plays and shows, in which they took so much delight. This innovation is frequently mentioned by the Roman authors:—

"Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques,
Othone contempto, sedet."†

The seats of the fourth, or higher division, which served for the lower class of people, were entirely of wood: and unless they had been so, how could the amphitheatre have so often, as we are told, suffered from fire and lightning? Indeed the seats of the lower divisions, though of stone, were covered

* T. Livius, l. 34. c. 54. † Hor. epodon. 4. v. 15.

with wood, for the convenience of the spectators; and the great personages had even cushions.

In case of a sudden heavy rain, the spectators could retire under the covered galleries, or *vomitorii*. But to protect them from the scorching sun, or from a slight shower, the amphitheatre, from the walls to the *arena*, was covered with an awning. I have observed, that modillions or projections are placed round the exterior of the fourth story, and over them holes are cut through the great cornice of the building. On these modillions were placed 240 masts, or beams of wood, or bars of metal, to which, passing through these holes, the awning was fixed. Fontana,* and, after him, Maffei,† have given drawings to show how this might have been done. This curious awning, in imitation of the colour of the sky, was commonly of purple; but, by some of the extravagant emperors, it was richly ornamented.

Curiosity will naturally ask, where the vast numbers of wild beasts, exhibited in the amphitheatre, were kept? Lipsius‡ and other authors suppose, that they were preserved under the *podium*, in dens or rooms, with doors, from which they issued into the *arena*. But, in digging along part of the walls of the *podium*, no vestiges of such dens or doors seem to have been found. The opinion therefore of Scipio Maffei§ is more

* Plate No. 12. † Ib. No. 12. ‡ De Amphitheatro, c. 8 and 9.
§ Degli Anfiteatro, l. 2. c. 7.

probable, viz. that these animals were kept at the *vivarium*,* an extensive place constructed for that purpose, without the walls of the city, near to the prætorian camp,† from which they were brought, in cages or other machines, to the amphitheatre.

The inhuman combats of gladiators were first discouraged by Constantine.‡ However, they seem to have been tolerated till the reign of Honorius, which was the last time the amphitheatre was polluted with human blood. But the hunting of wild beasts continued much longer.

I shall not waste time to trace here the many devastations the amphitheatre has undergone at various periods. Many indeed of the great palaces of modern Rome, have been built with the stones taken from it. But what remains of this superb monument may now long continue: for Pope Benedict XIV. considering it as sanctified by the blood of the number of Christians here martyred, during the different persecutions of the emperors, assigned to it all the privileges of a church; and caused stations or altars to be placed round the *arena*, where devotees go to sing the litanies, and perform their devotions.

Meta sudante. No. 36.

Near to the amphitheatre, on the corner of the road that led from it to the *via sacra*, I saw the remains of a fountain,

* Procopius de Bel. Got. l. 1.—and Nardini Roma Antica, l. 4. c. 2.

† See page 215. ‡ Codicis, l. 11. tit. 43.

which, from its resemblance to the *meta* of a *circus*, is known by the name of the *Meta sudante*. It supplied the spectators who assisted at the shows with water; and perhaps it was used for filling the *arena* for the *naumachiæ*. That this fountain had been magnificent, we may conclude from its having been introduced on the medals of the amphitheatre, which bear the names of Vespasian, Titus, Alexander Severus, and Gordianus Pius. On the same medals we observe arches, in form of a portico, which were probably the aqueduct that conveyed the water to the fountain. These works had been executed in the time of Vespasian; otherwise Titus would not have placed them on the reverse of the medal, he caused to be struck in honour of his father, about six months after his death. Vespasian died in summer 79, and Titus dedicated the amphitheatre, and published the medal, in the beginning of the year 80. But whether this water was brought from the Celian hill,* or from the *Sette sale* † on the Esquiline hill, or from both, I shall leave to others to decide.

Titus's triumphal arch. No. 37.

Going from the amphitheatre, the first monument I observed, on the *via sacra*, was Titus's triumphal arch. And whether we consider the elegance of the sculpture, or the interesting subjects here represented, it no doubt deserves our particular attention.

This monument consists of one great arch, over which is an attic story; and each front was ornamented with four

* See page 183. † See page 191.

elegant fluted composite columns, from which the revivers of architecture took the proportions of that order.*

On the attic story, fronting the amphitheatre, I read the following inscription—

SENATVS
POPVLVSQVE . ROMANVS
DIVO . TITO . DIVI . VESPASIANI . F .
VESPASIANO . AVGVSTO.

From the appellation DIVO, here given to Titus, it is evident that this arch was erected to him after his death: for, absurd as this title is, it was never given to the living, but only to the dead emperors. And, as a confirmation of it, I observed the deification of Titus represented on the roof of the inside of the arch, where an eagle is carrying him to heaven, which could not have been done had he been alive.†

Along the frieze is represented Titus's triumphal procession over the Jews; with the *victimarii, flamines*, oxen to be sacrificed, altars, &c. Here I remarked the image of a river god, carried on a bed, intended probably to express the river Jordan.

Under the arch, on one side, is the emperor, seated in a triumphal chariot, drawn by four spirited horses, conducted by the genius of Rome; and behind him is a winged Victory crowning him with a laurel.

* See page 5. † Tacitus Ann. l. 15. c. 74.

On the other side of the arch, I saw the ornaments of the temple of Jerusalem, viz. *the table of the shew bread—the seven-branched golden candlestick—and the silver trumpets*, &c. These, no doubt, were copied from the originals brought from the Jewish temple to Rome by Titus, who deposited them in the temple of peace, where they were destroyed by fire. This therefore is a most interesting bas-relief, being the only faithful representation that exists of these sacred Jewish antiquities.

For the exact view of this arch, and the noble sculptures on it, I must refer the curious reader to Pietro Santo Bartoli's plates, published by Bellori,* and to Desgodetz.†

Vespasian and Titus have recorded their conquest of Judea on their medals, as well as on their public monuments. Judea is always represented as a woman sitting on the ground, in a posture that denotes sorrow and captivity.—"The virgins of Jerusalem hang down their heads to the ground."‡—Thus we see her on a bas-relief, cut on a pedestal, preserved at the Capitol. Mr. Addison§ fancies that "the Romans might have had an eye to the customs of the Jewish nation, as well as to those of their own country, in the several marks of sorrow they have set on this figure. The Psalmist describes the Jews lamenting their captivity in the same pensive posture—*by the*

* Veteres Arcus Augustorum triumphis insignes, &c. Tab. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. and 8. † Edifices antiques de Rome, p. 78.

‡ Lamentations, ch. 11. v. 10. § On Medals, dial. 2. fig. 13. series 3.

waters of Babylon we sat down and wept; when we remembered thee, O Sion."*—And he adds, "that we find Judea represented as a woman in sorrow, sitting on the ground, in a passage of the prophet, that foretells the *very* captivity recorded on this medal"—of Titus—IVDEA . CAPTA. But the learned and elegant Bishop Lowth † observes, that the prophecy of Isaiah, to which Addison seems to refer, did not foretell the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, but the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, and the dissolution of the Jewish state under the captivity at Babylon.

Nero's golden house.

Although no vestige remains of Nero's celebrated golden house, *domus aurea*, I cannot pass it over in silence. This extravagant monster constructed this immense building, which joined to the imperial palace, on the Palatine hill, considered by him as too little, and extended over a great part of the Esquiline hill. These buildings seem to have been destroyed by Vespasian, who, on their site, erected his amphitheatre, as Titus did his baths and palace. The *domus aurea* must have required a great extent of ground, but I cannot ascertain its exact limits: nor can I convey to the reader a better idea of its luxuries, than by transcribing the account transmitted to us by the historian Suetonius.‡—"There was nothing," says he, "in which Nero was more expensive to others than in his buildings: he enlarged his house from the Palatine to the Esquiline hill. He first called it his *thoroughfare;* but being burnt down, he rebuilt and named it his *golden house.* To give

* Psalm 137. v. 1. † New translation of Isaiah, note on ch. 3. v. 26.

‡ Life of Nero, c. 31.

an idea of its extent and beauty, it is sufficient to say, that in its *vestibulum** was placed his colossean statue, which was one hundred and twenty feet high. It had a triple portico, supported with a thousand columns, with a piece of water like a sea, and surrounded with buildings that resembled cities. It contained fields, vineyards, pasture ground, and woods, in which were a variety of all sorts of animals, both wild and tame. Its interior shone with gold, gems, and mother-of-pearl. In the vaulted roofs of the eating rooms were ivory tables that turned round, and, from pipes, scattered flowers and perfumes on the guests. But the principal eating room was a rotonda, and so constructed that it turned round, night and day, in imitation of the motion of the earth. His baths were supplied either with sea water, or with the sulphureous waters of Albulæ.† However, having finished and dedicated this house, he only said, "that now he should begin to live like a man."

Temple of Rome and Venus, or Pales. No. 38.

Joining to Titus's triumphal arch, in the garden of the convent of *S. Francesca Romana*, which was no doubt a part of the site of Nero's golden house, I observed an elegant ruin, of which Bianchini has given an engraving.‡ The antiquaries generally reckon that it is the remains of a double temple. It had two fronts, one to the east, and the other to the west. Each had a porch ornamented with six columns. These temples, of equal dimensions, were separated by two great niches, or tribunes, fronting the porches. Some writers call it a temple of the sun and moon, or Serapis and Isis, others that of

* See page 16. † See Appendix, No. II.

‡ Palazzo di Cesari, tab. 16.

Venus and Rome: but Piranesi* supposes that it was a double triclinium† of Nero's golden house; the one fronting the east having served for a summer, and the other to the west for a winter eating room, agreeable to a rule laid down by Vitruvius,‡ for the construction of such buildings. But if this ruin is admitted to have been a temple, may it not be that which Hadrian built to *Rome* and *Pales?*§ On the 21st of April there was a festival observed, for time immemorial, in honour of Pales, the goddess of husbandry, who perhaps was the same as Venus. But as this was the day of the foundation of Rome, called *natalis urbis*, Hadrian changed the name into that of *Romana*; and thus not only instituted a solemn festival, but at the same time erected a temple to the capital of the world. However, as the porches of this ruin were, according to Bianchini, ornamented with six columns each, it is different from a temple we observe on a medal of Hadrian, published by Buonarotti, || which has ten columns in front.

Temple of Peace. No 39.

Near to the church of *Santa Francesca Romana*, and opposite to that part of the Palatine hill that fronts the *via sacra*, the remains of the temple of *Peace* could not escape my attention.

After the Germans were beat back by the Generals of Vespasian, and Judea was reduced to a Roman province by Titus, both father and son triumphed in the year of Christ 71, when

* Ant. Rom. Tom. 1. page 35. No. 285. † See page 17.

‡ Lib. 6. c. 7. § Athenæus, Deipnosoph. l. 8 c. 16. || Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcuni Medaglioni Antichi, tab. 1. fig. 5; and page 17.

peace became universal. The temple of Janus was then probably shut, because Vespasian was very observant of ancient customs. It was in contemplation of this blessing that Vespasian built the temple of peace, which is said to have been defaced by fire, towards the end of the reign of Commodus, in the year 191. Its ruins, however, still give an high idea of Roman grandeur, and correspond with the account given of this temple by Pliny*—"Templum pacis, Vespasiani imperatoris Augusti, pulcherrima operum, quæ unquam."

This was the largest of the Roman temples; and as much of it remains as may enable architects to give not only its plan, but an elevation of one side of its interior; which Palladio† and Desgodetz ‡ have done, and engraved. Piranesi,§ however, contrary to tradition, contends that this was not the temple of peace, but part of Nero's golden house; and in his plan of the *Forum Romanum*, has placed the temple of peace behind this building. This ruin has, indeed, the appearance of an ancient basilic, or court of justice.

Its form was quadrangular; and about three hundred feet long, and two hundred feet broad. It consisted of three naves with three niches or tribunes on each side, and one opposite to the gate. The eight immense fluted Corinthian columns, of white marble, that decorated the inside of this temple, perhaps belonged to Nero's golden house. One of these columns still remains entire, whose shaft without base or capitol, is

* Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 15. † Lib. 4. c. 6. ‡ Les Edifices Antiques de Rome, page 45. § Ant. Rom. Tom. 1. p. 34. No. 283.

about forty-eight English feet high. It was removed from the temple of peace by Pope Paul V. who erected it before the church of *S. Maria Maggiore*, on the Esquiline hill,* and placed on its top a brazen statue of the Virgin, with a young Christ in her arms.

Besides the sacred furniture of the Jewish temple, which I have mentioned, a noble library was preserved here,† as well as some of the finest statues and pictures of the Grecian masters: particularly the celebrated picture, painted by Protogenes for the Rhodians, representing the story of Jalysus, which Cassius brought to Rome,‡ and Pliny § places here the statue of the Nile, with sixteen children, of basalte, which seems to be the same now preserved at the Belvidere of the Vatican. I shall transcribe the words of the naturalist.—"Invenit eadem Ægyptus in Æthiopia, quem vocant *basalten*, ferrei coloris atque duritiæ. Unde et nomen ei dedit. Nunquam hic major repertus est, quam in templo pacis ab imperatore Vespasiano Augusto dicatus: argumento Nili, XVI liberis circa ludentibus, per quos totidem cubita summi incrementi augentis se amnis intelliguntur."

Temple of Romulus. and Remus. No. 40.

Near to the temple of peace, on the same side of the *via sacra*, is the church of *S. S. Cosmo* and *Damiano*. There is no doubt that this is the remain of an ancient temple. But here I am again at a loss, for various are the opinions of the antiquaries, to whom it was erected. Donatus || calls it that of

* See page 196. † Auli Gellii Noctes Atticæ, l. 16. c. 8. ‡ Plutarch's Life of Demetrius. § Lib. 36. c. 7. || Roma vetus ac recens, l. 3. c. 4.

Romulus; Nardini* supposes it to have been that of Remus, and places the temple of Romulus at the side of the Palatine hill: some reckon this to have been the temple of the brothers Romulus and Remus; whilst others call it the double temple of Rome and Venus, built by Hadrian, which I have just mentioned;† and they ascribe to Rome the rotonda by which we enter, and the oblong part to Venus. But whoever examines this building with attention will, I think, be of opinion that it is not the work of Hadrian, in whose time architecture was in high perfection. It seems to have been built at different periods: the rotonda has the appearance of great antiquity, but the square part of a more modern date. Amidst such a variety of opinions, I shall not attempt to ascertain to whom this temple was dedicated. I shall only observe, that it must have been a remarkable one, since here was found the curious plan of Rome, I have frequently mentioned, cut on white marble, and probably executed in the time of Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla, whose names I find inscribed on a fragment of it.‡ This plan was discovered in the time of Pope Paul III. and the fragments removed to the Farnese palace, where they remained, till the King of Naples, heir of that family, gave them to Pope Benedict XIV. who caused them to be placed on the walls of the great staircase of the Capitolean museum, where they are now to be seen. It is much to be regretted, that, in removing this plan from the temple, the workmen had

Marble plan of Rome.

* Rom. Ant. l. 3. c. 12. † See page 345. ‡ Tab. 4.

SEVERI . ET . A
TONINI . AVG .
N . N .

not regularly marked each fragment, so as to have enabled others afterwards to have united them, which cannot now be done. Had this been attended to, we might have seen the entire plan of Rome, as it was in the time of Septimius Severus; which would have saved antiquaries much conjecture: whereas, as it now stands, we can only, from mutilated inscriptions on a few of the fragments, know some particular buildings, without being able to ascertain the precise spot where they stood. And though this plan may not have been measured with mathematical exactness, or drawn with architectural nicety, yet it would have conveyed to us the real forms of the buildings. The learned Bellori published twenty plates of these fragments, to which six plates have been added in a late edition of this work.*

Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. No. 41.

Next to the church of *S. S. Cosmo* and *Damiano*, or shall I say the temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, I observed the remains of the temple of *Antoninus* and *Faustina*. The inscription, on the frieze of the portico, leaves no doubt to whom this temple was dedicated:

DIVO . ANTONINO . ET
DIVAE . FAVSTINAE . EX . S . C .

Though Antoninus, after the death of Faustina, entreated the senate to bestow on her, infamous as she was, divine

* "Ichnographia veteres Romæ xx tabulis comprehensa, cum notis Jo. Petri Bellorii, accesserunt aliæ vi tabulæ ineditæ, cum notis. Romæ, 1764, ex Calcographia R. C. A."

honours, and to build her a temple;* yet this inscription must have been put on the temple after his death.† Whatever marks of honour might have been due to the memory of the virtuous Antoninus; yet never could such honours have been more misplaced than in conferring them on Faustina.

This portico is indeed magnificent, and serves for the entry to the modern church of *S. Laurence in Miranda*. It is decorated with ten Corinthian columns,‡ viz. six in front, and two on each side: these columns are of that marble which the Romans call *cipollino*, or *lapis phrigius*, and are the largest to be seen at Rome of that kind of marble. The sides of the portico, built with Tiburtine stone, had been incrusted, as was probably the whole temple, with marble, but of which it is now stripped. However, a noble frieze of white marble still remains, on which are elegantly cut griffins, candelabra, and other ornaments.

Towards the Capitol hill, on the same line with the temples I have just mentioned, is the church of *S. Adriano*. The antiquaries generally agree that this was the temple of *Saturn*,§ built in the time of the republic: but so little of the ancient building remains, I shall not attempt to give a description of it. In this temple was kept the public treasure, so that it might have been called the treasury. It was pillaged by Julius Cæsar, to supply the expence of his war against Pompey.‖— Temple of Saturn. No. 42.

* Capitolini V. M. Antonini, c. 26.

† See page 342.

‡ See Palladio, l. 4. c. 9.—and Desgodetz, c. 8.

§ Plutarch's Life of Poplicola.

‖ Plutarch's Life of Julius Cæsar.

Pope Alexander VII. carried away its brazen gate, with which he ornamented the church of S. John of Lateran.

Forum of Julius Cæsar.

Extent of conquest having multiplied business, the Roman *Forum* became too little for transacting it, and could not be enlarged without destroying the many buildings with which it was surrounded. To flatter therefore the people, Julius Cæsar, out of the spoils he had acquired in Gaul,* built a new *forum*, to which he gave his own name. It stood near to the old *forum*, behind the temples of Romulus and Remus, and of Antoninus and Faustina, on what is called the *Cariné:* but no vestige of it is now to be seen. From ancient writers we learn that its length was twice its breadth. It had, no doubt, been elegantly ornamented.

Here Julius Cæsar built a basilic, or court of justice, and a temple, which he dedicated to *Venus Genitrix*, which he had vowed to her just before the battle of Pharsalia,† and from whom the Julian family pretended to be descended.‡ In this temple he placed a statue of Venus, presented to him by Cleopatra, and by it another of this celebrated Egyptian queen.§ He likewise deposited here his collection of engraved gems—"Cæsar dictator sex dactyliothecas in æde Veneris Genitricis consecravit."||—Much value has always been put on these learned and beautiful works of art.

Pliny¶ and Suetonius** both agree that the dictator paid for

* Suet. Vit. Cæs. c. 26. † Appian, de Bell. Civ. l. 2.
‡ See page 113. § Appian. de Bello Civ. l. 2. || Plin. l. 37. c. 1.
¶ Ib. l. 36. c. 15. ** Suet. V. J. Cæs. c. 26.

the ground, on which he built his *Forum*—$\overline{HS}$ *millies*—which sum, according to Dr. Arbuthnot,* was equal to 807,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling. But this must certainly be a mistake: for, by this calculation, an acre of Cæsar's *forum* would have been twenty shillings a foot of yearly ground rent, a price that exceeds our imagination.

Forum of Augustus. No. 43.

The same motives that engaged Julius Cæsar to build a new *Forum*, induced Augustus to erect another.† It stood behind the churches of St. Adrian and St. Luke, and was almost parallel with the dictator's *forum*. But as no part of it remains, I shall not attempt to trace its limits. It had no doubt been magnificent, and worthy of Augustus, who built here a temple to *Mars Ultor*, which he had vowed to the god of war at the battle of Philippi.‡ The porticos of this *forum* were ornamented with the statues of the illustrious Romans, who by their achievements had raised, from small beginnings, the Roman empire to such height. By contemplating these venerable forms, Augustus thought that it inspired him with a desire, and hoped it would have the same effect on succeeding princes, to imitate their actions, and thereby acquire the love of the people.

Forum of Nerva. No. 44.

Another *forum* was begun by Domitian, but, having been finished by Nerva, it was called *Forum Nervæ*.§ It was almost adjoining to that of Augustus. Considerable remains of this *forum* are still to be seen, at the church of the *Nunziatina*

* Tables of ancient Coins, p. 157. ed. London, 1727. 4to.

† Suet. V. Augusti, c. 29. ‡ Ib. § Suet. V. Domitiani, c. 5.

and *arco de' Pantani.* It was small, and not quadrangular like the other *fora*, as appears from a vast circular wall still remaining, in which is the gate known by the name of the *arco de' Pantani.* Perhaps this proceeded from an unwillingness to destroy ancient buildings, or to encroach on the then streets. This *forum* was called *Transitorium*, or the thoroughfare, because it led to the other *fora* in its neighbourhood.

Basilic or temple of Nerva.

Whether the three magnificent fluted composite columns, over which is built a belfrey to the church of the *Nunziatina*, belonged to the basilic, or to the temple of Nerva, I cannot decide. But surely these columns, as Desgodetz advances,* did not belong to the temple of *Mars Ultor*, which I have placed in the forum of Augustus. And to show that this elegant building was not erected by Augustus, but by Nerva, I have only to observe, that the antiquaries have recorded the following inscription, somewhat defaced, which was on the frieze of this building: but, on account of the marble, Pope Paul V. took it away, and employed it to ornament his fountain, on the Janiculum hill.†

IMP . NERVA . CAESAR . AVG . PONTIF .
MAX . TRIB . POT . II . IMP . II . PROCOS .

Temple of Pallas.

Opposite to these columns are the remains of the temple of Pallas. Over the cornice is the figure of this goddess in alto-relievo; and, along the frieze, her domestic arts or labours, spinning and weaving, are elegantly cut in basso-relievo: they

* Les Edifices Antiques de Rome, c. 12.

† See page 129.

are now considerably defaced; but they have been engraved by Pietro Santo Bartoli, and published by Bellori.* This temple was probably built by Domitian, who was a devotee to this deity;† and from her it was called *Forum Palladium*, before it was named *Forum Nervæ*.

I must observe that these beautiful ruins are now seen to great disadvantage, being much buried, with the increase of earth above the level of the ancient pavement: and the same remark may be extended to all the ruins on the plain, round the Palatine hill.

Let me now take a view of the *Forum Romanum*. What an object of contemplation, to see this celebrated spot, where the conquerors of the world assembled, to transact the business not only of Rome but of every country, reduced to a few scattered columns, fragments of temples, and half-buried arches! Instead of the orators haranguing the people from the *rostrum*; to engage them to enact the laws they proposed, or to concur in their political measures, to see this field converted into a cow-market,‡ and reduced almost to the same state in which, according to the poet, Æneas saw it, when he came to solicit the assistance of Evander against Turnus! Forum Romanum.

* Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum, tab. 35 to tab, 42. inclusive.

† Suet. V. Domitiani, c. 15. The author of these remarks has, in his collection, a spirited drawing of these ruins, by the late ingenious artist Zocché of Florence. ‡ The Forum, from this circumstance, is now called *Campo vaccino*.

" Talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
Pauperis Evandri; passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro, et lautis mugire Carinis." *

The *Forum*, no doubt, lay between the Palatine and Capitol hills: but, in its present ruinous state, I cannot with certainty fix its limits. However, having often examined it, with much attention, I think it probably extended in length, from south to north, from the church of the *Consolation* to that of *S. Adrian;* and in breadth, from west to east, from the three columns, said to have belonged to the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, to the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, under the entrance to the Capitol.

Here I am much bewildered: nor have I sufficient classical authority where to place the different buildings that surrounded the *Forum*. Such as I can trace I shall mention, and place some others where, to me, they seem most probably to have stood.

Temple of Jupiter Stator. No. 45.

The first object that draws our attention is the three fluted Corinthian columns, with part of their frieze and cornice, at the side of the *via sacra*, towards the north corner of the Palatine hill. These elegant columns, of white marble, are generally reckoned to have been part of the portico of the temple of *Jupiter Stator:* a temple vowed by Romulus to this deity, on the place where he rallied his men flying from the Sabines, and there repulsed

* Virg. Æn. l. 8. v. 359.

them.* If this was the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, mentioned by Vitruvius,† it had been of that construction which he calls *peripteros*. But these remains are too magnificent to be the work of Romulus; the temple must therefore have been rebuilt at a period when architecture was in high perfection at Rome.

Piranesi‡ thinks that these columns are the remains of the temple of Castor and Pollux. Other antiquaries make them belong to the temple of Augustus, over which Caligula threw a bridge, as I have mentioned,§ to join the Palatine and the Capitol hills; but the temple of Augustus, if it served for this purpose, could not have stood here; it must have stood on the north-east side of the Palatine hill, which answers to the west side of the *Forum*. At any rate these beautiful columns serve for an useful study to architects, and as such have been published by Palladio,‖ by Desgodetz,¶ and other authors.

Temple of Vesta. No. 46.

The church of *S. Maria Liberatrice*, on the side of the Palatine hill, behind the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, is generally believed to be built on the ground, where the original temple of Vesta, erected by Numa, stood. No vestige of it remains. It was in this temple that the perpetual sacred fire was preserved; and Numa gave his house, which the poets have

* Livy, l. 1. c. 12. It was in this temple that Cicero first assembled the senate, and communicated to them, in presence of Cataline, the conspiracy which obliged him to abandon Rome.—See Plutarch's Life of Cicero.—See also page 129. † Lib. 3. c. 5. ‡ Ant. Rom. Tom. 1. p. 34. tab. 33. fig. 1. § See page 161. ‖ Lib. 4. c. 18. ¶ Les Edifices Antiques de Rome, c. 10.

dignified with the name of royal, to the vestal virgins, for their habitation. But, having had occasion * to say so much of the temples of Vesta, and her worship, it is unnecessary to add more on this subject. I shall only observe, that when this temple was in flames, Cecilius Metellus courageously entered it, and saved some of its precious effects, abandoned by the timid vestals. This action procured him the honour of a statue, which was placed in the Capitol.†

Temple of Romulus. No. 47.

On the declivity of the Palatine hill, immediately behind the *Forum*, I saw the church of *St. Theodorus*, vulgarly called *Santo Toto*. This small rotonda is commonly reckoned to have been the temple of Romulus: but it is so modernized that little of the antique remains. Here was found the brazen wolf suckling the twin brothers, preserved at the Capitol, which I have already mentioned. ‡ Dio Cassius§ informs us that the senate, after the defeat of Pompey's sons, caused a statue of Julius Cæsar to be placed in the temple of Romulus, with this inscription—DEO . INVICTO.—Such absurd flattery had been formerly paid to some of the Roman governors, by the slavish Asiatics; which no doubt facilitated the admission of this profanation at Rome. A people capable of thus adoring the conqueror of his country were surely ripe for servitude.

I shall now examine each of the four sides of the *Forum*.

Side of the Forum, towards the Palatine hill.

As I could trace no remains of the buildings that ornamented

* See page 313, et seq.

† Guasco, de l'Usage des Statues chez les Anciens, c. 3. seconde partie.

‡ See page 145.

§ Lib. 43.

this side of the *Forum*, unwilling to mislead the reader, I can only offer conjectures on this subject.—Here probably stood the *curia* of Hostilius—the basilic of Porcius—the temple of Augustus—and the temple of Castor and Pollux.—It is also reasonable to suppose that the *rostrum*, or stage, was placed in the centre of this side, that the orator, who declaimed from it, might be better seen and heard by the numerous audience there assembled.

Curia of Hostilius. Basilic of Porcius. Temple of Augustus. Temple of Castor and Pollux. Rostrum.

The open *Forum* long served for the *Comitium* : at last a covered building was appropriated for that purpose. No part of it remains ; and the antiquaries are not agreed where it stood. It must have required a considerable extent of ground; nor can I find a more convenient situation for it, than at the south end of the *Forum*, where now stands the church of the *Consolation*. Perhaps I may, not totally without probability, venture to place the *Comitium* here.

South side of the Forum. Comitium. No. 48.

On the side of the *Forum* towards the Capitol, I found no vestiges of ancient buildings, till I came to the temple of Concord. This temple was built, in view of the *Forum*, in consequence of a vow of the great Camillus, when he conciliated the differences between the senate and people, whereby the latter came to share the consular dignity with the former: an important event in the Roman history, that happened in the 387th year of Rome.* But, the original temple having been consumed by fire, it had been rebuilt; I know not at

Side of the Forum towards the Capitol hill. Temple of Concord. No. 49.

* Plutarch, Life of Camillus, ad fin.

what period, by the senate and people, as appears from this inscription on the frieze.—

SENATVS . POPVLVSQUE . ROMANVS
INCENDIO . CONSVMPTVM . RESTITVIT.

But as the temple of Concord is not mentioned in the inscription, some antiquaries, contrary to tradition, have doubted if this was it.

The portico of this building only remains. It consists in front of six Ionic columns, of a light coloured granite, whose bases and capitals are of white marble, with a column on each side. This remain has been often published, particularly by Palladio,* by Desgodetz† and by Piranesi.‡

Here the senate used frequently to assemble. But the divisions that constantly reigned in the *Forum*, show how little influence the sight of this temple had on the minds of the people who seem to have sacrificed oftener to *discord* than to *concord*.

Opimius, after the illegal murder of Caius, the younger Gracchus, likewise built a temple to *concord*. Where it stood is uncertain. The people, who could not behold this monument of tyrannical rage without indignation, secretly caused

* Lib. 4. c. 30. † C. 9 ‡ Ant. Rom. Tom. 1. tab. 3 fig. 1.

the following ironical inscription, to be found in Plutarch,* to be fixed on it, by an unknown hand.

"The works of *fury* erect a temple to *concord.*"

Between the temple of Concord and the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, I observed a solitary column standing, like those of the temple of Jupiter Stator. To what building this column belonged I cannot say. Some antiquaries suppose that the *Græcostasis* stood here, whilst others place it behind the north-west corner of the *Forum.* The *Græcostasis* seems to have been a building, where such ambassadors as were received into the city, remained till the senate gave them audience. Varro, mentioning the *Græcostasis,* says—"sub-dextra hujus à comitio locus substructus, ubi nationum subsisterent legati; qui ad senatum essent missi. Is Græcostasis appellatur à parte, ut multa. Senaculum supra Græcostasin, ubi ædes Concordiæ, et basilica Opimia."† Græcostasis. No. 50.

The senate and people erected a magnificent triumphal arch to Septimius Severus, and to his sons Caracalla and Geta. It stands just below the entrance to the Capitol from the Forum. Like that of Constantine,‡ it consists of a great arch in the centre, and a small one on each side. The fronts, towards the Forum and Capitol, are each decorated with four fluted composite columns; and on the attic the following inscription is repeated on both sides. Triumphal arch of Septimius Severus. No. 51.

* Plutarch's Life of C. Gracchus. † Varro de Ling. Lat. p. 38, ed. H. Stephani, 1573. ‡ See page 325.

IMP . CAES . LVCIO . SEPTIMIO . M. FIL. SEVERO . PIO . PERTINACI . AVG. PATRI . PATRIAE . PARTHICO . ARABICO . ET PARTHICO . ADIABENICO . PONTIFIC . MAXIMO . TRIBVNIC . POTEST . XI. IMP. XI. COS. III. PROCOS . ET IMP . CAES . M. AVRELIO . L. FIL. ANTONINO . AVG. PIO . FELICI . TRIBVNIC . POTEST. VI. COS. PROCOS . P. P. OPTIMIS . FORTISSIMISQUE . PRINCIPIBVS. OB . REMPVBLICAM . RESTITVTAM . IMPERIVMQVE . POPVLI . ROMANI . PROPAGATVM INSIGNIBVS . VIRTVTIBVS . EORVM . DOMI . FORISQVE . S. P. Q. R.

The letters of this inscription were first cut on the marble, and afterwards filled up with plates of brass. Though long since robbed of the brass, the inscription is still legible.

The same remark, made on the inscription on the arch erected to Septimius Severus and his sons, in the Forum Boarium, * will apply to this arch. For here, in the fourth line, an erasure is plainly to be seen, from the cavity of the marble, as well as from marks where the original brass letters were fixed. This must have been done by order of Caracalla, after he had barbarously murdered Geta. The inscription thus erased seems to have been—ET . PVBLIO . SEPTIMIO . GETAE . CAES. PONTIF.—in place of which the following words were substituted—OPTIMIS . FORTISSIMISQUE . PRINCIPIBVS.

On the reverse of a medal of Septimius Severus we find this triumphal arch. Above the attic we observe a triumphal car, drawn by six horses, in which are placed two personages, probably the two brothers, because an attack of the gout prevented the father from assisting in the triumphal procession. On each side of the car is a foot soldier, and on each extre-

* See page 308.

mity of the attic a soldier on horseback. Whether these figures were of marble or metal, I cannot say, for they have been long since taken away.

This arch had been erected to Septimius Severus after his Parthian, Arabian, and Adiabenian conquests; and the history of these wars is preserved on it in basso-relievo. Though sculpture had already declined, from the time of Trajan, we must not examine too critically the sculpture on this arch, because it is now greatly defaced, having been built with a softer marble than that employed in the construction of Trajan's column, and Constantine's arch. However, Pietro Santo Bartoli, in his spirited engravings, published by Bellori,* has made out and preserved to posterity, the subjects represented on this monument.

By the increase of the ground here, almost a third of the height of this arch is now concealed.

I have already mentioned that the temple of Saturn† stood on the north side of the Forum; but I cannot ascertain what other buildings may have been placed there, as no vestiges of them are now to be seen. North side of the Forum.

* Veteres Arcus Augustorum, &c. Tab. 9 to tab. 15, inclusive; to which is added—Josephi Mariæ Suaresii apparatus historicus ad explicationem Arcus L. Septimii Severi Aug.—The reader may likewise see this arch as published by Desgodetz, c. 18. from plate 83 to plate 92, inclusive.

† See page 351.

Miliarium aureum.

The *Miliarium aureum*, according to Tacitus,* stood near to the temple of Saturn:—"Inde ad miliarium aureum, sub ædem Saturni, pergit."—But, to what I formerly said† of this celebrated column, it is unnecessary to add more.

The many statues of heroes and illustrious personages, trophies, and other ornaments, mentioned by ancient writers, with which the Forum was decorated, must have rendered it both magnificent and interesting.

Lacus Curtius.

Though it is not my intention to trace here the variety of extraordinary events that happened in this Forum, yet I cannot pass over in silence the gulf into which M. Curtius generously precipitated himself to save his country. It was in the middle of the Forum, and from him it was called *Lacus Curtius*. Livy‡ has recorded this heroic action. But whether there might have been some foundation for this story, or whether it was a pure fiction to embellish the Roman annals, I shall not decide. It has served, however, as a fine subject, to employ the pencil of the painter, and the chisel of the sculptor. Thus I saw an alto-relievo, at the villa Borghese, in which it is represented, and which is said to have been found where the *Lacus Curtius* stood. Here the self-devoted hero plunges, with his horse, into the abyss: his determined air shows that he is led on to die by a noble motive. What an instance of courage, supported by superstition! Indeed the Roman history affords us seve-

* Hist. l. 1. c. 27. † See page 88.

‡ Liv. l. 7. c. 6.—Vide Valerius Maximus, l. 5. c. 6. sect. 2.

ral examples of such courage, particularly in the Decii and Fabii.

On this classic spot I could not but recollect the history of Virginia. Her death abolished the tyranny of the decemvirs, and restored the republic, in the year of Rome 304. It was in this Forum that the beautiful and innocent girl, unjustly condemned to slavery by the lascivious decemvir Appius, was sacrificed to chastity and liberty by her father, in whom cruelty, paternal fondness, and the love of his country were singularly blended. Virginia.

THE TIBER.

Having examined the Seven Hills, and the circumjacent plains, before I proceed to the *Transtyberim*, now called *il Trastevere*, I shall make a few remarks on the Tiber, and the different bridges that led to that quarter.

The *Tiber* takes its rise in the Apennine mountains, above Borgo St. Sepulchro, and is increased by many streams before it reaches Rome. At Orté, below Perugia, it receives the Nera, and becomes navigable. But it is not my intention minutely to trace all the course of this celebrated river. It is sufficient to observe, that, running through a rich country, it carries along with it much earth, which gives it that muddy dark colour, which Horace properly calls—*flavus*;*—an epithet, I think, juster than *cæruleus*—given to it by Virgil:†—

"Cæruleus Tiberis, cœlo gratissimus amnis."

The muddy state of this river, at Rome, makes it unfit for the general uses of life; but properly filtered, it is good, light, and wholesome. However, Rome is so happily and plentifully provided with excellent water, from its different aqueducts, as well as from springs in various parts of the city, that the people rarely make use of the water of the Tiber, except for washing of linen, or such purposes.

* Lib. 1. od. 2. † Æn. 8. v. 64.

The fall or declivity of this river, from Orté till it loses itself in the Mediterranean sea, is very little; the computation being not above half a foot, in the length of six thousand feet.*

* This gentle descent of the Tiber, with the moderateness of its current from Rome to the sea, measuring, with its windings, about twenty Italian miles, produced in that river a degree of depth which could not have consisted with a greater rapidity; and afforded the important benefit of a navigation to that city, which would have been otherwise impracticable without the aid of expensive locks, as the Mediterranean does not yield the advantage of tides, sufficiently perceptible.

The depth of the bed of the Tiber is probably diminished, from what it was formerly, occasioned by many of the ruined edifices of the city, &c. having been thrown into it. However, it still serves for the navigation of large vessels, called *tartans*, drawn by buffaloes, which bring goods to Rome. But that this river could not have been less considerable formerly than it is at present, may, I think, be fairly inferred from the ships, or lesser vesse's of burden, which had been used not only in supplying Rome with cargoes of foreign productions, but also for importing to it the huge and ponderous obelisks of granite, brought from Egypt. But Pliny,† partial to Rome, surely exaggerates, when he makes this river as considerable as the Nile—"Quo experimento (*sc.* bringing an obelisk to Rome) patuit, non minus aquarum huic amni (*sc.* Tiberis) esse, quam Nilo."

Here it may not be improper to remark, that the flatness of bottom, used in constructing of ships for the Mediterranean, was not confined to the make of vessels of burden, but was equally applied to the construction of the *naves longæ*, or war galleys of all rates, thereby fitting them to go into very shallow water. From want of tide, this construction was necessary, both for launching vessels from the shore into the sea, and for hauling them up from it to the land, which was frequently practised—*deductiones*,‡ et *subductiones*§ *navium*.

Thus there remains no difficulty in crediting, that Paulus Æmilius, as related by Plutarch in his life of that great man, was carried up the Tiber in the royal galley of Perseus, king of Macedonia, his captive, having no less than sixteen ranks of oars on each side, and decorated with the richest spoils of the enemy.

† Hist. Nat. lib. 36. c. 9. ‡ Virgil. Æn. 4. v. 397. § Ib. Æn. 1. v. 555.

Rome, and the country about it, suffers much from time to time from the inundations of the Tiber. I have seen boats in several streets of Rome. These inundations may be accounted for from various causes.—1. From the great increase of the river, produced either by the melting of snow, or immense falls of rain in the mountains.—2. From the bed of the river being greatly raised, and choked up with the quantity of earth and sand it brings down, as well as from rubbish thrown into

A spectacle so new and magnificent could not but induce many of the Romans to descend along the banks of the Tiber to meet, and then to accompany it, while proceeding with slow majestic motion up the river; and thus they enjoyed that striking view as a prelude to the grand triumph afterwards exhibited.

The Roman and other ancient war galleys were denominated *biremes—triremes—quadriremes—quinqueremes*, &c. according to the number of ranks of oars, used checkerways above each other, on the oblique sides of these galleys, with a correspondent number of rowers, respectively occupying horizontal seats of two feet in length within the side. The number of rowers and oars, no doubt, constituted the chief moving powers of these ships. For it appears that they had not any standing rigging of masts, yards, and sails, but only one small temporary mast, occasionally put up, with its yard and sail, to aid the rowers in a fair wind; but when the wind was contrary, it was laid down: hence *dimittere malum*, to lower or let down the mast, was a sea term used by the Romans.

But, for a more particular description of the construction of the ancient Roman war galleys, I beg leave to refer to the account, which my learned and much esteemed friend John Gillies, LL.D. has given, in his elegant and judicious history of Greece,* of a model executed by the directions of General Melville,† in order to illustrate and confirm his ingenious discovery of the arrangement of the ancient rowers; a model which I have repeatedly examined, and considered as a satisfactory solution of that great difficulty, which had so long exercised and eluded all the researches of the antiquarians.

* Note, page 208, of Vol. 1. ed 3. 8vo.

† See General Melville's Roman order of battle, page 222.

it, and want of a sufficient fall to carry it off.—And, 3. From violent and long continued south winds, blowing on the mouth of the river, which prevent its free current, and force back the water. Other reasons might be added, but, I think, these are sufficient to explain this effect. I formerly observed,* that these south winds, blowing up much sand from the sea, the land has greatly increased along this flat coast.

At the *Ripetta* there is a column, on which is marked the height to which the Tiber has, in different inundations, rose.

This river has been celebrated for its excellent fish, particularly for the *sturio*, or sturgeon, and the *lupus*, which the modern Romans call *spigola*,† which seems to be the same as the *lucius*, or pike.

Much treasure, especially statues, is supposed to be buried in the bed of the Tiber. If this is true, these statues must have been thrown into it by the Romans, to conceal them from the barbarians who invaded Rome, with the hope of being afterwards able to draw them out; or by the Christians, to destroy the idols of the heathens. Be this as it may, it is said that proposals have frequently been made to the popes to clean out the river, in order to recover these riches. But, as the quantity of mud with which it is choked up is immense, and the depth of the river very unequal, it could not be done by a dragging machine: it could only be effectually

* See page 115. † Giovius de Piscibus Romanorum.

done by changing its course, which would be attended with great expence and much inconvenience. Besides, the exhalations from the mud, in the hot season, might prove pestilential to the city.

If the reader desires more information on this subject, he may consult—1. Il Tevere di Giov. Bat. Modio—2. Dell' Tevere di Andrea Bacci.—3. Descrizione delle Cagioni delle Inondazioni dell' Tevere, colla pianta, &c. da Andrea Chiesa e Bernardo Gambarini, ingegneri, 1744.

THE BRIDGES.

Seven bridges served for a communication between the city and Transtiberim, viz. 1. *Pons Ælius*, now called Ponte S. Angelo; 2. *Pons Triumphalis*, now destroyed; 3. *Pons Janiculensis*, now Ponte Sisto; 4. *Pons Fabricius*, now Ponte dei Quattro Capi; 5. *Pons Cestius*, now Ponte Ferrato; 6. *Pons Palatinus*, or *Senatorius*, now Ponte S. Maria, but, being broken down, it is commonly known by the name of the Ponte Rotto; and 7. *Pons Sublicius*, now destroyed. I shall examine these bridges in their order.

1. Pons Ælius.

I begin with the *Pons Ælius*, being the highest up the river. It was built by the Emperor Ælius Hadrianus, from whom it was named. It served for an access to his superb mausoleum, *Moles Hadriani*, which he erected on the bank of the Tiber, opposite to that of Augustus.*—"Fecit (Hadrianus) et sui nominis pontem, et sepulcrum juxta Tiberim."† By this bridge the mausoleum was, in a manner, united to the Campus Martius. The *Pons Ælius*, elegant, light, and solid, consists of seven arches, viz. three great arches in the middle, and two small ones on each side. Piranesi, as an architect, seems with attention to have examined this bridge and the mausoleum: he has given plates to explain their construction, to which I beg leave to refer the reader.‡ He has traced

* See page 252.

† Spartian. V. Hadriani, c. 19.

‡ Piran. Ant. Rom. Tom. 4. tab. 4. to tab. 12, inclusive.

their foundations so minutely, that one would think he had assisted at the building of them. I am indeed afraid that much of this is ideal; but his ingenious remarks may be useful to artists.

By a medal of Hadrian, published by Erizzo,* it appears that this bridge was originally ornamented with statues, but what these were we know not, as none of them now remain. However, when the bridge was repaired by Pope Clement IX. he added the elegant parapet, on which he placed the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the ten statues of angels, carrying emblems representing different parts of the passion of our Saviour, executed by the scholars of Bernini, from the designs of that master, who himself is said to have executed the statue, which bears the inscription of the *cross*.

Mausoleum of Hadrian.

Dio Cassius† says that Hadrian built his mausoleum, because that of Augustus was already full of dead bodies. It is difficult to believe that so great a monument as that of Augustus could have been then filled with the imperial dead. I am rather inclined to think that Hadrian erected his from vanity, to outdo Augustus in magnificence. For the *Moles Hadriani* was the most superb sepulchral monument ever constructed at Rome.

A square base of a great height supported a vast rotonda, surrounded with an open portico of Corinthian columns.

* Discorso sopra le Medaglie Antichi.

† Vita Hadriani.

Above the cornice of this portico were placed many statues. It was terminated with a *tholus*, which was likewise surrounded with statues; and over which was placed a brazen pin, commonly supposed to be the one preserved at the Vatican. On each corner of the square base was a man holding a horse, much in the same attitude with those that stood in Constantine's baths, on the Quirinal hill,* which has led some antiquaries to suppose, that Constantine had taken them from this monument. Such is the description generally given of Hadrian's mausoleum; and such is it represented to have been in a print, in the author's collection, engraved by Henricus Von Schoel, and published at Rome, 1583.

The whole of this monument had been incrusted with marble. The elegant columns, as I have observed,† that ornament the church of St. Paul, on the Ostian road, are reckoned to have been taken from this sepulchre: and the immense sarcophagus of porphyry which I saw in the church of S. Constanza, on the *via Nomentana*,‡ is a proof of the magnificence of the sepulchral urns formerly placed in this singular monument.

The situation as well as the extent of this mausoleum, pointed it out for a place of defence, when the barbarous nations invaded Italy. It was taken and retaken by the Goths and Belisarius. In these different attacks it must have greatly

* See page 229. † See page 120. ‡ See page 49.

suffered. It is said that the besieged broke the statues, and launched their fragments on the besiegers.

About the year 593, during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, Rome was afflicted with a plague. It was then pretended that an angel was seen on the top of this building, putting a sword into a scabbard; which was considered as a mark of the cessation of the plague; and, in consequence of this vision, the pope gave the name of *Castel S. Angelo* to the *Moles Hadriani*, by which it is now known; and the *Pons Ælius*, for the same reason, was called *Ponte Sant Angelo*.

This castle, for such we must now consider it, was defended by Crecentius Nomentanus, about the year 985, against the Emperor Otho III.

The popes, from time to time, have added to its fortifications. But the last and great improvement was made by Urban VIII. who completed the fossé and bastions towards the meadows; so that it is now the citadel of Rome.

Alexander VI. caused a covered gallery supported by arches, to be made between the Vatican palace and this castle, to which the popes may retire, in case of a popular tumult, or any sudden danger.

It is from this castle that the superb fireworks, given on the eve and festival of St. Peter, and on the eve and day of the pope's coronation, are annually displayed.

2. Pons Triumphalis.

Opposite to the hospital of *S. Spirito*, I observed, when the river was low, the remains of the *Pons Triumphalis*. When, or by whom it was built, I have not been able to discover. It was the communication from the triumphal road to the Campus Martius.*

Of the triumphal gate there are no vestiges. Antiquarians are at a loss where to place it. Though I do not pretend to decide this question, yet I think this gate, appropriated to those only who obtained the honours of triumph, probably stood between the *Flumentan* and *Carmental* gates, before Aurelian inclosed the Campus Martius within the walls of the city.† The triumphal procession, the most august of all shows, passed by the Flaminian Circus,‡ through this gate, to the Circus Maximus,§ and round the Palatine hill to the Via Sacra,‖ which led directly to the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, to whom the spoils of the conquered enemy were with pomp presented.

3. Pons Janiculensis.

The *Pons Janiculensis* was probably thus named, because it was placed opposite to the *Mons Janiculus;* but I cannot trace its history. After having been broken down, it was rebuilt by Pope Sixtus IV. and is now known by the name of *Ponte Sisto*.—Along this bridge, a branch of the *Aqua Sabatina* is carried from the noble fountain on the *Mons Aureus*,¶ and falls into a bason at the *Strada Julia*.

* See page 130. † See page 306. ‡ See page 298.
§ See page 319. ‖ See page 340. ¶ See page 129.

The island and temple of Æsculapius.

The island, in the Tiber, formerly called that of *Æsculapius*, or the *Isola Sacra*, is now known by the name of St. Bartholomew, from a church there dedicated to that Apostle, and built on the foundations of the temple of the god of health.

4. Pons Fabricius.
5. Pons Cestius.

The bridge that leads into the island, from the side towards the Capitol, is the *Pons Fabricius*, now called *Ponte dei quattro Capi;* and the bridge towards the Janiculum is the *Pons Cestius*, vulgarly named *Ponte Ferrato.* The inscriptions on these bridges are so defaced, that it is not easy to ascertain who the Fabricius and Cestius were, by whom they were built. But that they were repaired by Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, appears from an inscription still entire.* This island was therefore sometimes named—"inter duos pontes."

Island, how formed.

The Romans,† always fond of giving extraordinary accounts of the beginnings of their city, pretended that this island was formed by the corn, sown by Tarquin the Proud in the Campus Martius, having been cut down and thrown into the river, by order of the consuls. For they considered that the tyrant's having sown, for his own use, a field consecrated to Mars, was a profanation; they would not therefore allow the people to appropriate it to themselves. But the river, at that season, being low, the corn stopped here, and thus produced the island. Though this beginning of it may

* Antichita di Roma dell' Venuti, Tom. 2. p. 92.

† Livy, l. 2. c. 5.——Dion. Hal. l. 5. c. 2. sect. 19.——Plutarch's Life of Poplicola.

not be true, and only given by the Roman historians to embellish their history, yet we know that islands in rivers are frequently formed from very small beginnings. A few stones or trees in the bed of a river, or any other obstruction, will serve as a foundation: sand and mud will soon collect about it, which with time, will increase its extent, and raise it to a level with the surface of the water; and every future inundation of the river, by depositing new matter, will add to its height, till it comes to a level with its banks. But that the island had been heightened by art, appears from the ramparts still remaining, and is acknowledged even by Livy*—"Postea credo additas moles, manuque adjutum, ut tam eminens area, firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset."—The length of the island is about 1000 feet English, and its breadth 300. Its form resembles that of a galley, especially the end where stood the temple of Æsculapius.

About the year of Rome 462, the city and Campagnia suffered from a plague. To remove this calamity, the senate consulted the Sibylline books, by which they were directed, as the only remedy, to bring Æsculapius of Epidaurus to Rome. An embassy was therefore sent, which was well received by the Epidaurians; who conducted them to their temple, and the serpent which they worshipped there, under the name of Æsculapius, followed the embassadors into their ship. He remained in the cabin of Q. Ogulnius, the head of the em-

* Liv. l. 2. c. 5.

bassy, till they arrived at Rome; when he quitted the ship, and swam into the island, where a temple was built for him. Such is the account given us of this wonderful event.* And to perpetuate its memory, we still see the figure of a serpent cut on the stones that served for the foundation of the temple.

Antoninus Pius has likewise recorded this history on a medallion, inscribed—ÆSCULAPIVS—on the reverse of which we observe the serpent springing from the prow of the ship into the island, and the river god Tiber, half above the water, ready to receive him. This medallion has been published by several authors, particularly by Spanhemius,† by Spon,‡ and by Overbeke.§

The placing this temple in the island was proper; for it gave a command of water for baths, as well as for ablutions, and drink, which might be prescribed by the oracle, to the sick who came to consult the god.

We need not be surprised that the Romans should have added the god of health to the many deities whom they borrowed from Greece and other countries. His festival was observed, with great solemnity, the first day of January;

* Liv. l. 11. Epitomæ.—Val. Max. l. 1. c. 8.

† De Præstantia et Usu Numismatum. Diss. 3. p. 181. ed. Els. 1671.

‡ Récherches Curieuses d' Antiquité, Diss. 31.

§ Avanzi dell' Antica Roma, tradotta da Paolo Rolli, p. 301.

ΑΥΤΑΙϹ·ΤΑΙϹ·ΗΜΕΡΑΙϹ·ΓΛΙΩΤΙΝΙ·ΤΥΦΛΩΕΧΡΗΜΑΤΙϹΕΝ ϹΛΘΕΙΝ·ΕΠΙ·ΔΕΞΙϹΤΕ
ΡΟΝ·ΒΗΜΑ·ΚΑΙΠΡΟϹΚΥΝΗϹΛΙΕΝΑΑΠΟΤΟΥΔΕΞΙΟΥΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΕΠΙΤΟΛΡΙϹΤΕΡΟΝ
ΚΑΙΘΕΙΝΑΙΤΟΥϹ·ΠΕΝΤΕΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΥϹΕΠΑΝΩΤΟΥΒΗΜΑΤΟϹ·ΚΑΓΑΡΑΠΗΝΧΕΙ
ΡΑ·ΚΑΓΕΠΙΘΕΙΝΑΙΕΠΙΤΟΥϹ·ΙΔΙΟΥϹΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥϹ·ΚΑΙ·ΟΡΘΟΝΑΝΕΒΛΕΨΕ·ΤΟΥ
ΔΗΜΟΥ·ΠΑΡΕϹΤΩΤΟϹ·ΚΑΓϹΥΝΧΑΙΡΟΜΕΝΟΥ·ΟΤΙΖΩϹΑΓ·ΑΡΕΤΑΙ·ΕΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ ΕΠΙ
ΤΟΥ·ϹΕΒΑϹΤΟΥ·ΗΜΩΝΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ

ΛΟΥΚΙΩΠΛΕΥΡΕΙΤΙΚΩ·ΚΑΙ·ΑΦΗΛΠΙϹΜΕΝΩ·ΥΠΟΠΑΝΤΟϹ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΕΧΡΗϹΜΑΤΙ
ϹΕΝ·ΟΘΕΟϹ·ΕΛΘΕΙΝ·ΚΑΙΕΚΤΟΥ·ΤΡΙΒΩΜΟΥΑΡΑΙ·ΤΕΦΡΑΝ·ΚΑΓΜΕΤΟΙΝΟΥΑΝΑ
ΦΥΡΑϹΑΙ·ΚΑΓΕΠΙΤΟΕΙΝΑΙΕΠΙΤΟΠΛΕΥΡΟΝ ΚΑΓΕϹΩΘΗΚΑΓΔΗΜΟϹΙΑΗΥΧΑΡΙϹΤΗϹΕΝ
ΤΩΘΕΩ·ΚΑΓΟΔΙΓΜΟϹϹΥΝ·ΕΧΑΡΗΑΥΤΩ

ΑΓΜΑΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΙ ΓΟΥΛΙΑΑΤΩ ΑΦΗΛΠΙϹΜΕΝΩ ΥΠΟΠΑΝΤΟϹ·ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ·ΕΧΡΗϹΜΑ
ΤΙϹΕΝ ΟΘΕΟϹ·ΕΛΘΕΙΝ·ΚΑΙΕΚΤΟΥΤΡΙΒΩΜΟΥΑΡΑΙ·ΚΟΚΚΟΥϹϹ ΤΡΟΒΙΛΟΥΚΑΓ
ΦΑΓΕΙΝΜΕΤΑ·ΜΕΛΙΤΟϹ ΕΠΙ ΤΡΕΙϹΗΜΕΡΑϹΚΑΙ·ΕϹΩΘΗΚΑΓΕΛΘΩΝΔΗΜΟΓΑ
ΗΥΧΑΡΙϹΤΗϹΕΝΕΜΠΡΟϹΘΕΝ ΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥ

ΟΥΑΛΕΡΩΑΠΡΩϹΤΡΑΤΓΩΤΗΤΥΦΛΩ·ΕΧΡΗΜΑΤΙϹΕΝ·ΟΘΕΟϹ ΕΛΘΕΙΝ·ΚΑΙΛΑΒΕΙΝΑΙΜΑ
ΕΖΑΛΕΚΤΡΥΟΝΟϹ·ΛΕΥΚΟΥΜΕΤΑΜΕΛΙΤΟϹΚΑΙ·ΚΟΜΥΡΙΟΥϹΥΝΤΡϹΙΨΑΙΚΑΙΕΠΙ
ΤΡΕΙϹΗΜΕΡΑϹ ΕΠΙΛΡΕΙϹΑΙΕΠΙΤΟΥϹ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥϹΚΑΙ ΑΝΕΒΛΕΨΕΝ ΚΑΙΕΛΗΛΥΘΕΝ
ΚΑΙ·ΗΥΧΑΡΙϹΤΗϹΕΝΔΗΜΟϹΙΑΤΩΘΕΩ·

Neele sculp.

Votive Inscriptions found in the Temple of Æsculapius.

probably to render him propitious to Rome, and to prevent the plague, and other epidemical diseases, during the course of the year.

This temple of Æsculapius was long held in the highest veneration, and numbers of miraculous cures are said to have been performed here. The votive inscriptions, on a table of marble, found among its ruins, and now preserved in the Farnese collection, are a proof of it. They have been long since published by Hieronymus Mercurial, in his book, De Arte Gymnastica.*—But my late ingenious friend Mr. James Russell, author of the Letters from a young Painter, &c. copied and imitated the form of the characters of these inscriptions with the greatest accuracy. He intended to have published them, along with some other curious inscriptions, traced in the same manner, but death prevented him. I know not what is become of Mr. Russell's plate: but as he gave me an impression of it, which I preserve, I have had it exactly re-engraved, and here present it to the learned and curious reader.†

These inscriptions may be thus translated.

1. "In these days the god, (Æsculapius) admonished by the oracle, answered one Caius, who was blind, that he should go to the right side of the altar and worship; afterwards from

* Lib. 1. c. 1. † See plate X.

the right to go to the left, and place his five fingers upon the altar, and lift up his hands and lay them upon his own eyes, and he recovered his sight directly; the people standing by and rejoicing together with him, that such great miracles were performed under our Emperor Antoninus."

2. "The god (Æsculapius) answered by the oracle to Lucius, who had a pleurisy, and was despaired of by every man, to come and take from the altar some ashes, and mix them together with wine, and put them on his side, and he was cured; and he publicly returned thanks to the god, and the people congratulated with him."

3. "The god, (Æsculapius) by means of the oracle, admonished Julianus, who vomited blood, despaired of by every man, to come and take pine berries from the altar, and eat them with honey for three days, and he was cured; and coming forth, he publicly returned thanks before the people."

4. "The god (Æsculapius) admonished, by means of the oracle, Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, to come and take the blood out of a white cock, to beat it up together with honey and collyrium, and, for three days, put it upon his eyes; and he recovered his sight; and he came forth, and gave thanks in a public manner to the god."

From the first inscription we observe, that these miracles were performed in the time of Antoninus; but that this must

have been Antoninus Pius, appears from the medallion of that emperor, which I have just mentioned, and of which these pretended miracles probably suggested the idea.*

Many, no doubt, were the votive tables placed in this temple, but which are now lost. Various medical prescriptions were likewise inscribed on its walls: among others, we learn from Pliny,† that on a table of stone in the portico, was engraved, in verse, the recipe for making the *confectio theriacæ* of the ancients, which was reckoned an antidote against all sorts of poison. The great naturalist, as well as Galen,‡ have preserved to us that recipe; but it is not exactly the same with the *theriac*, commonly called *Venice treacle*, composed and improved by the moderns.

The sick used to be carried to the temple and placed there, according to certain rites, that, when asleep, they might be advised by Æsculapius of their proper remedy.§

It was common for the patient, after having been exposed some nights in the temple, without being cured, to depart, and put an end to his own life. Plautus‖ makes Cappadox quit

* Tacitus relates two miracles performed by Vespasian at Alexandria. A poor man, known to be blind, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and begged that he would anoint his cheeks, and the circle of his eyes, with his imperial spittle; for such the Egyptian god Serapis advised him to ask.—The other, whose hand was paralytic, desired he would put his foot on and walk over it. Vespasian having consented to do so, they both immediately recovered. Hist. l. 4. c. 81.

† Nat. Hist. l. 20. c. 24.

‡ L. 2. De Antidot. c. 14.

§ Cic. de Divin. l. 2.

‖ Curculio, act 2. sc. 1.

the temple in despair, because in place of recovering he daily became worse:—

> " Migrare certum est jam nunc è fano foras,
> Quando Æsculapii jam sentio sententiam;
> Ut qui me nihili faciat, salvam velit;
> Valetudo decrescit, accrescit labor."

Slaves, of whose recovery there was no hope, were exposed in this temple, and, if health was restored to them, they acquired their liberty.*

Notwithstanding the superstition of the Romans, towards the end of the republic, and during the beginning of the empire, when various sects of Greek philosophers came among them, many of the great men of Rome became sceptics, and ridiculed the religion of their forefathers. This appears from Cicero's Dialogues on the Nature of the Gods; for there we find Cotta, a Roman pontiff and great magistrate, one of the interlocutors, advance, that diseases are cured by natural means, and not by divine interventions. Thus he gives more credit to Hippocrates than to Æsculapius.—" Nec ego multorum ægrorum salutem non ab Hippocrate potius, quam ab Æsculapio datam judico."†

Two other temples are mentioned to have stood on this island, dedicated to Jupiter,‡ and Faunus.§ No part of these

* Suet. V. Claud. c. 25.
† Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 38.
‡ Liv. l. 34. c. 53.
§ Liv. l. 33. c. 42.

remains; but, according to Vitruvius,* they were of that species of architecture called *prostylos*.—"Hujus exemplar est in insula Tibertina in æde Jovis, et Fauni."

An Egyptian obelisk, inscribed with hieroglyphics, had probably been placed in the island; a fragment of which still remains before the church of St. Bartholomew.†

The ingenious Piranesi‡ has presented us with an elegant little plan of the island and its buildings; but it is ideal; for surely there are not sufficient remains of these ancient buildings, to have enabled him thus to trace them.

6. Pons Senatorius.

Below the island is the *Pons Senatorius*, or *Palatinus*, for both these names are given to it by the antiquaries. It had, however, in modern times, been called *Ponte Santa Maria*, either from an image of the Virgin placed on it, or from the church of *S. Maria Egyptiaca*, which I mentioned,§ in its vicinity. But two of its arches having been broken down by an inundation of the river, in 1589, it remains impassable; and, from this circumstance, it is now named *Ponte Rotto*. From what remains, this bridge appears to have been spacious and handsome.

7. Pons Sublicius.

The last bridge in my order, though the first built at Rome, is the *Pons Sublicius*, the work of Ancus Martius.‖ Towards

* Vitr. l. 3. c. 1.

† It is published by Piranesi, Ant. Rom. Tom. 4. tav. 14.

‡ Piranesi, ib. § See page 312. ‖ Liv. l. 1. c. 33.

the *Ripa grande* I saw some of its foundations. It was constructed with wood, when defended by Horatius Cocles; but after that event the planks, with which it was covered, were laid across, without being fixed with nails, that they might be the more easily removed in any sudden danger. Pliny,* mentioning buildings without nails, has taken notice of this circumstance —"quod item Romæ in ponte Sublicio religiosum est; posteaquam Coclite Horatio defendente ægre revulsus est."—However, it is said that, in later times, this bridge, which is now destroyed, was rebuilt with stone.

In viewing the ruins of the *Pons Sublicius*, we naturally recollect the story of Horatius Cocles. Porsena, king of Clusium, in Hetruria, ally to the Tarquins, rendered himself master of the *castellum* on the Janiculum. The Romans marched out to attack Porsena, but were repulsed, and forced to re-cross this bridge with great precipitation. At last Horatius Cocles, along with Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius, afraid lest Porsena might have pursued his advantage, and entered Rome, resolved to defend the end of the bridge, towards the Janiculum. The arms of Lartius and Herminius being broken in the violence of the action, they retired; and Horatius Cocles alone defended the bridge, till the Romans had destroyed as much of its end towards the city, as to render it impassable. Then the hero, wounded in the thigh, threw himself into the river, and, amidst a shower of darts, swam over. For this heroic action the Romans placed his statue in the temple of Saturn, and bestowed on him land and other presents.

* Lib. 36. c. 15.

TRANSTIBERIM.

I shall now cross the river, and enter into the *Transtiberim*, by the modern Italians named *il Trastevere*. It may be considered as a suburb of Rome. It is the plain that lies between the Tiber and the Janiculum hill.

Livy* tells us, that it was added to the city by Ancus Martius.—"Janiculum quoque adjectum; non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset."—But, as the Tiber was the boundary between Hetruria and Latium,† it is not probable that the Romans ventured to build much in the Transtiberim, before they rendered themselves masters of a considerable part of Hetruria.

The first inhabitants of this quarter were low people brought from different parts of Latium, conquered by the Romans, to increase the population of the city. Here the meanest trades and manufactories were carried on. Thus Martial,‡ satirizing a prostitute who had an offensive breath, compares her to several nasty objects, and among others to a dog-skinner in the Transtiberim:

"Non detracta cani Transtiberina cutis."

* Liv. l. 1. c. 33.—Vide Dion. Hal. l. 3. c. 14. § 3.

† See page 315.

‡ Lib. 6. ep. 93.

Though there are now several fine churches, hospitals, and great palaces in the Trastevere, yet it is chiefly inhabited by low people, who consider themselves as a different race from the other Romans: they seem to retain a certain rusticity; and when any tumults happen at Rome, they are always observed to figure in them.

Publius Victor and the antiquaries give lists of baths, naumachias, and other monuments, that formerly ornamented the Trastevere; but, as I have not been able to fix their situations, I shall not trouble the reader with mere conjecture.

St. Cecilia. No. 52.

An object, however, that deserves our attention, is to be seen at the church of St. Cecilia, the amiable patroness of music; that divine art, by which, according to the poet,* "she drew an angel down." This elegant church is built on the foundation of the saint's house; and her bath, in which she was martyred, about the year 232, is converted into a chapel. In this chapel I observed, in the walls, earthen pipes or flues, by which hot air had been conveyed into the bath. They are the only flues of this kind hitherto discovered among the ancient baths of Rome.

Porta Septimiana.

Near to the little but elegant Farnese palace, I observed a ruin, commonly called *Porta Septimiana*. Perhaps it was a gate, and the ancient walls went in that direction, before Aurelian extended the city on this side the Tiber.

* See Dryden's Ode, in honour of St. Cecilia's day.

The great church of *S. Maria in Trastevere*, is built on the foundations of an ancient building. It is generally supposed to have been the *Taberna Meritoria*, probably a military hospital. Eusebius* tells us that, before the birth of Christ, a fountain of oil rose up here, so copious that it ran into the Tiber: from this circumstance the church has been sometimes named—*S. Maria ad fontem olei.*—Be this as it may, to preserve the tradition, an inscription is placed near the great altar—FONS OLEI.—This church is chiefly constructed with materials that belonged to former buildings. Here I observed some noble Ionic columns, on the centre of whose volutes is cut, in basso-relievo, the bust of Harpocrate, with his finger on his mouth, the symbol of silence.

Taberna Meritoria. No. 53.

I have already mentioned† that the *Mons Vaticanus*, and its circumjacent plain, was added to the city by the Popes. But it may be considered as a continuation of the Trastevere.

Mons Vaticanus.

That Nero's Circus ran along the side of the sacristy of the church of St. Peter, appears from the noble obelisk‡ that

Nero's Circus. No. 54.

* Hist. Eccles. l. 1. † See page 24.

‡ This obelisk, of one piece of granite, but without hieroglyphics, had, according to Pliny, l. 36. c. 11. been cut out of the quarries of Syene, and erected at Heliopolis by Nuncoreus son of Sesostris king of Egypt. It was from thence brought to Rome by Caligula, who dedicated it to Augustus and to Tiberius. Nero afterwards placed it in his circus, where it remained, till Pope Sixtus V. had it erected at a great expence, before the façade of St. Peter, by the celebrated architect Dominico Fontana. The shaft of this obelisk is 113½ palms; and the height of the whole, from the ground to the top of the cross, is 180 palms.—See Descrizione del' Vaticano da Chattard, Tom. 1. p. 5.

ornamented its *spina*, and which remained standing there, till it was removed by Pope Sixtus V. who had it erected in the centre of the colonnade of this wonderful temple.

The circus was probably destroyed for the sake of its materials, with which the original church of St. Peter had been built. But though there are no remains of it, still it is too remarkable to be passed over unobserved. It seems to have extended from the church of S. Martha to the first step of the portico of S. Peter.

Seneca and Burrhus seem to have wished to prevent Nero from appearing as a charioteer and a comedian. But when their advice was rejected, they caused this circus which had been begun by Caligula, to be finished for him; where he might conduct a chariot, unseen by the people. At last his vanity invited the people to see him, whose applauses encouraged his passion for these diversions. It was to diminish his own infamy that, by largesses, he engaged many persons of noble families to imitate his example.—" Nam et ejus flagitium est, qui pecuniam ob delicta potius dedit, quam ne delinquerent."* —Tacitus tells us that the people regretted the death of Nero. The sagacious historian could not have given a stronger proof of the degeneracy of those times. The Romans, enslaved, aspired no higher than to have food and amusements;—*panem et circenses.*—They did not see that Nero was a tyrant, a matricide, a monster: they only considered him as a prince who

* Tacitus, ann. l. 14. c. 14.

multiplied their diversions, particularly those of the circus, in which he himself was a principal actor.

The rotonda, which long served for the only sacristy of St. Peter, is reckoned to have been a temple of Apollo; it stood at the side of Nero's circus. Perhaps it was built on the spot, where tradition made an oracle give responses; and from *Vaticinium*, this hill might have been called *Vaticanus*. Other etymologies, however, have been given for this name.* Temple of Apollo. No. 55.

The many aqueducts, by which rivers, if I may be allowed the expression, of excellent water were conveyed to Rome, have been justly considered among the most magnificent, as well as the most useful works of the Romans. It may therefore be expected that I should have traced particularly these aqueducts. I have mentioned such of them as occurred in my survey; but to have traced them minutely, from their various and distant sources, to the final distribution of their water in Rome, is a subject so extensive and intricate, that it would require a work apart. It is the less necessary for me to undertake it, as it has been done by Frontinus,† by Fabrettus,‡ and by Alberto Cassio,§ to whose learned works I beg leave to refer the curious reader. Aqueducts.

* A. Gellius, l. 16. c. 17. † De Aquæductibus Urbis Romæ. Studio Joannis Poleni. Patavii, 1722. 4to. ‡ De Aquis et Aquæductibus Veteris Romæ. § Corso dell' Aque Antiche e Moderne di Roma.

The conclusion.

Thus, according to my plan, have I completed the *remarks* I purposed to make on the remains of antiquity to be seen at Rome, and in its environs. They are the result of considerable reading, and an attentive examination of the monuments themselves on the spot, during a number of years, that I resided in that city; and I have endeavoured to give as exact an account as their present shattered state would permit.

This inquiry, full of variety and ancient anecdote, has afforded much pleasure to my own mind; and after a long lapse of time, I still, in imagination, frequently tread over this classical ground, and never without the recollected satisfaction I enjoyed in the agreeable pursuit.

THE

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE NASONIAN SEPULCHRE.

A LETTER FROM ROME.

SIR,

As exercise is extremely necessary here to preserve health, I frequently make little excursions round the city. A few days ago I strolled as far as the *Nasonian sepulchre*, commonly called *Ovid's tomb*. This monument, cut out of the rock that overtops the *via Flaminia*, is about two miles and a quarter beyond the bridge named Ponte Mollé, formerly Pons Milvius. It was discovered, in the year 1674, by the workmen repairing that road.*

To dispose of the bodies of the dead has been the religious care of all nations. Dreadful was the idea of being deprived of sepulchral rites. Till these were performed properly, at least the body covered with earth, the credulous Roman believed that Charon would not receive the soul into his boat, and conduct it to the delightful *Elysium*; but that it wandered an

* See page 89.

hundred years on the banks of the dismal *Styx*. Hence Virgil makes the Sibyl inform Æneas:

> "Nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta
> Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
> Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc litora circum:
> Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt."*

Various indeed have been the methods of disposing of the dead. But inhumation seems to be the most ancient, as well as the most universal practice: *dust to dust*. Burning too had been early received at Rome. It was introduced, perhaps, to facilitate the means of bringing home, and preserving, the ashes of the brave citizens who had lost their lives abroad in defence of their country; as well as to prevent the remains of the dead from being dug up and insulted by their enemies. Some of the great families of Rome, however, continued long the custom of inhumation. Sylla, the dictator, was the first of the Cornelian family who ordered his body to be burnt; afraid, probably, lest the Marian faction might do to his body what he had barbarously done to that of Marius, viz. to tear it from the grave, and throw it into the river.†

Pliny informs us, that the Romans did not burn the bodies of children before they got their teeth,—"Hominem priusquam genito dente cremari, mos gentium non est."‡—This custom is likewise mentioned by Juvenal.§—

* Æn. l. 6. v. 327. † Cic. de Legibus, l. 2.—Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 54.
‡ Plin. l. 7. c. 16. § Sat. 15. v. 138.

" Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans,
Et minor igne rogi."

Sensible how much the putrefaction of dead bodies must corrupt the purity of the air of populous cities, the Romans, by a law of the XII Tables, made it unlawful to bury or burn the dead within the city.—" Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito."*—The senate and people, however, sometimes dispensed with this law; particularly in favour of the emperors, of the vestal virgins, and of personages who had rendered signal services to the state.

The Romans therefore commonly placed their sepulchres near the highways. They had several reasons for this custom. It admonished travellers to wish rest to the souls of the dead; it awakened in their minds many moral reflections; and made them ambitious to imitate the virtues and to detest the vices of the persons to whose memories these tombs were erected.

It was natural for those whose characters were stained with vices or follies, or whose lives had passed in obscurity, to wish to be buried in some remote corner, that they might thereby escape the censure of passengers. It was this, perhaps, made Propertius say—

" Dî faciant, mea ne terrâ locet ossa frequenti
Quà facit assiduo tramite vulgus iter."†

* Tab. X. de jure sacro. † Lib. 3. eleg. 16.

The *via Flaminia* and *via Latina* were remarkable for the number of sepulchral monuments that ornamented them. Juvenal, to screen himself from the resentment of those whose vices he satirised, pretends that he attacks the dead buried on those roads:—

———" Experiar, quid concedatur in illos
Quorum *Flaminia* tegitur cinis, atque *Latina.*"*

It was usual to build monuments in honour of the dead, although they were not buried in them. Such a tomb was called by the Greeks κενοταφιον, and by the Romans *honorarius.* The ancients used certain religious ceremonies, to invite the soul of the dead to take possession of such a monument. Thus Virgil makes Æneas call thrice on the soul of Deiphobus, when he erected a κενοταφιον to him, at Rhœteum, a promontory on the Trojan coast :—

" Tunc egomet tumulum Rhœteo in litore inanem
Constitui, et magna manes ter voce vocavi."†

Ovid was banished by Augustus. Whether it was because the amorous poet had made love to Livia his wife, or to Julia his daughter, or because he had surprised the father holding criminal conversation with the daughter, or for what other reason, is very uncertain. It appears, indeed, that the emperor was so enraged at him, that he never would permit his return

* Sat. 1. v. 170. † Æn. l. 6. v. 505.

home: and that he died and was buried at Tomus* in Pontus, to which he was exiled.†

When the Polish army, in the year 1581, was at Pont-Euxine, they found, it is said,‡ among the ruins of the ancient city of Tomus, a large stone, with an inscription on it, which seems to be Ovid's epitaph—

"Hic situs est vates, quem Divi Cæsaris ira
Augusti, patria cedere jussit humo.
Sæpe miser voluit patriis occumbere terris,
Sed frustra: hunc illi fata dedere locum."

But whether or not this inscription is genuine, I shall not here inquire. It is, however, very applicable to the unfortunate but delightful poet.§

* Now called Kiovia.

† See Ovid. Trist. l. 1. eleg. 2. v. 85.

‡ Hist. della Famiglia Gonzaga, da Passevino.

§ Although it is generally believed that Ovid was exiled to Tomus, yet there is a tradition that it was to Julia Alba, now called *Czetate Alba*, in lower Moldavia, formerly the country of the Getes. From M. Carra, who resided some time there, we have this anecdote:—Near to Julia Alba, says he, there is a lake, still called *Lacul-Ovidului*, or *Ovid's-lake*. And about three leagues from the city there is a romantic situation, which is supposed to have been a retreat of the poet. Here the ruins of a village are to be seen, and a fountain which, as well as the lake, is named from him. His name is still preserved and venerated by the people of that country. They say—"that there came, from the banks of the Tiber, an extraordinary man, who had the gentleness of a child, and the goodness of a parent; that he sighed incessantly, and sometimes talked to himself; but when he spoke to any one, honey seemed to flow from his mouth."—See Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie, avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel de ces deux provinces; par M. Carra; à Paris, chez Laugrain, 1778. 12mo. p. 7.

How feelingly does Ovid regret that, dying in exile, he would have no friendly hand to close his eyes, or tongue to proclaim his death!

——"Nec cum clamore supremo
Languentes oculos claudat amica manus."*

At Rome, as soon as a person died, the friends caused the doors of the house to be thrown open, and whoever entered called him by his name, and going out to the street proclaimed him dead by saying—"conclamatum est."—This ceremony was repeated seven days. It was only on the eighth day that the body was carried out: so cautious were they lest it should be buried or burnt alive! because till putrefaction begins, there is no certain sign of death. The modern European nations generally bury the dead too soon; but eight days, in such a climate as Rome, seems more than sufficient.

We learn from Ovid,† that he had a villa between the Claudian and Flaminian ways. It is near to this where Q. Nasonius Ambrosius, of the Ovidian family, built this sepulchre for himself and posterity; and at the same time to perpetuate the memory of the celebrated poet,

D. M.
Q. NASONIVS . AMBROSIVS
SIBI . ET . SVIS . FECIT . LI
BERTIS . LIBERTABVSQVE

* Ovid. Trist. l. 3. eleg. 3. v. 43. † Lib. 1. de Ponto, ep. 8. v. 44.

NASONIAE . VRBICAE
CONIVGI . SVAE . ET . COL
LIBERIS . SVIS . ET
POSTERISQVE . EOR.

But from different inscriptions found here, it appears that others, besides the family of Naso, were, in after ages, buried also in this sepulchre.

The front was almost square, ornamented with four Corinthian pilasters, and terminated with a pediment. The sepulchral chamber is forty Roman palms long, and twenty broad. There are seven niches on a level with the floor, viz. three on each side, and one opposite to the door. In each niche stood a sarcophagus. Above the niches there is a cornice. The roof is arched. The floor, which was paved with mosaic, is now much raised by earth and dung, as the herdsmen lodge their sheep in it. Strange, that the government here, and in which there are men of taste and learning, should not have prevented so noble a piece of antiquity from being thus degraded!

Every part of this monument was elegantly painted. It was divided into different compartments; in which were represented the ancient stories concerning the state of the dead, and the Elysian fields.

These paintings are now defaced; a few single figures on the roof only being visible. Don Gaspar Altieri had three

cut off the walls, viz. the fable of Œdipus and the sphinx, a hunting of the tiger, and a horse, which are preserved at his villa, near the church called *S. Croce in Gerusalemme.*

Soon after the discovery of this sepulchre, Cardinal Massimi had exact designs of all the paintings made by Pietro Sancti Bartoli, and which that ingenious artist afterwards (1680), engraved. The orginal drawings, I am informed, are in the collection of the late Dr. Mead. The prints are learnedly explained by Bellori.* From the goodness of the paintings, and the characters of the sepulchral inscription, Bellori is of opinion, that they are as old as the time of Antoninus Pius.

By Bartoli's prints we find,† that in the niche opposite to the door, which was the principle one, stood Ovid, crowned with laurel, addressing himself to the infernal Mercury. At his side sits a muse, or perhaps his wife Perilla, whom he taught poetry, that she might be a more agreeable companion to him: her right hand rests on a harp, or *cithara*, and in her left she holds a sort of long flute with three stops, or rather a *plectrum.* Behind Mercury stands a woman dressed like a Roman matron.

In another niche,‡ Pluto and Proserpine sat on a throne, judging the souls of the dead presented to them by Mercury.

* Le pitture antiche del sepolchro de' Nasonii, nella via Flaminia.

† Tab. V. ‡ Tab. VIII.

Claudian makes Pluto confer this right on Proserpine, after he stole her away:

"Sub tua purpurei venient vestigia reges,
Deposito luxu, turba cum aupere mixti.
Omnia mors æquat. Tu damnatura nocentes:
Tu requiem latura piis."*

For a description of the other paintings, I refer to Bellori.

I am, &c.

* Lib. 2, de rapt. Proserp.

APPENDIX. No. II.*

TIVOLI.

A LETTER TO JOHN MACGOUAN, ESQ.

Rome, Dec. 1, 1765.

THE favourable reception, my dear friend, you are pleased to give the accounts I send you, of some of the antiquities here, encourages me to trouble you with the following journal of a jaunt to *Tivoli*, the *Tibur* of the ancients:

" Itur ad Herculei gelidas qua Tiburis arces,
Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis." †

As this is properly a classical excursion, I shall find myself sometimes obliged to transcribe a Latin sentence: but need I apologize for it, when I write to one who thoroughly understands, and justly admires the beauties of those elegant originals?

* This letter, and the Appendix No. III. were read at a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, July 18, 1791; but, making part of this work, the author declined to leave them for publication, otherwise that learned Society would have honoured them with a place in their Transactions.—See Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. 3. History of the Society, p. 19.

† Martial, l. 1. ep. 13.

Before Aurelian enlarged the precincts of Rome, the road to Tivoli was by the Viminal gate, which opened in the middle of the *agger* of Tarquinius; and was from thence sometimes called *Porta inter aggeres.* After the walls were extended, the road was by the Tiburtine gate, which joined to the *castrum prætorianorum.* But this gate having been built up, probably when the barbarous nations invaded Italy, people went to Tivoli by the gate of St. Laurence, which still continues to be the road. This gate of St. Laurence is one of the arches of the Martian, Tepulan, and Julian aqueduct; and was made a gate of the city by Aurelian, who called it *Porta Collatina.* But when *Collatia** was either destroyed, or reduced to a small village, it was known by the name of St. Laurence. Road to Tivoli.

About half a mile from the gate is the church of St. Laurence. It is one of those said to have been founded by Constantine, and built on the foundation of a temple of Neptune. In its nave there are twenty-two ancient columns of Oriental granite. Round the choir there are ten fluted columns of *pavonazzo.* The two first of these are composite; but their capitals are ornamented with trophies of arms in alto-relievo: they may be called *military capitals.* The other eight columns are Corinthian, and their capitals are finely executed. These columns are half buried, the choir being now raised much higher than it had originally been. To show, however, the elegance of the columns, one of them has been since dug Church of St. Laurence.

* See page 55.

Asarcophagus.

[illegible], whereby we can trace its whole height. In this church [illegible] is a remarkable sarcophagus, on which is a basso-relievo, representing an ancient marriage, with all its ceremonies, and of which I shall afterwards give you a particular account.* The body of Cardinal William, nephew of Innocent IV. is buried in it.

Sepulchre of Pallans.

Many vestiges of sepulchres are to be seen on this road. About a mile from where the Viminal gate probably stood, I searched in vain to discover the remains of that of *Pallans*,† the freedman of Claudius. Pliny the younger,‡ who mentions it with so much indignation, has preserved to us the inscription:—"Huic senatus ob fidem, pietatemque erga patronos ornamenta prætoria decrevit, et sestertium centies quinquagies,§ cujus honores contentus fuit."—What a picture is this of the depravity of the senate, of the wickedness of the emperor, and of the insolence and vanity, under the mask of modesty, of the catamite!

Pons Mammeus.

I crossed the Teverone, four miles from the gate, at the bridge called *Mammeus*, from *Mammea*, the mother of Alexander Severus, by whom it was repaired; but, by corruption, it is now called Mammolo. I do not find how this river got

* Appendix, No. III.

† He lived to the 9th of Nero.

‡ Lib. 7. ep. 29.—See likewise Tacitus Ann. l. 12. c. 53.

§ Which, according to Dr. Arbuthnot, was equal to £121,093. 15*s.* sterling. This sum, as the Doctor observes, was afterwards erased out of the records by Justinian,—"sub. tit. de senatus consultô Claudiano."—See Tables of ancient Coins, page 118.

the name of Teverone. Plutarch* informs us, that it was first called Parheusium, and then Anio, from King Anius, who precipitated himself into it:— The Anio.

"Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos." †

This river comes from the Apennines, between Felettino and Trevi, and after a course of about sixty miles, loses itself in the Tiber near Rome.

At the eighth mile the road divides. The right hand leads to Tivoli, and the left to Monticelli.

About the thirteenth mile, to the left of the road, I saw a ruin called *Castell' Arcioni*, and near to it the small puddle named *Lago di Tartari*. It smells strong of sulphur. From hence to Tivoli, and along the sides of the mountain, part of the Apennines, on which Tivoli is built, are the quarries of that hard porous freestone, known by the name of *lapis Tiburtinus* or *Travertino*, employed in the great buildings at Rome. This stone may be calcined into lime: it is done in the open air, and not in kilns. It seems to be produced from the sediment of the waters that come from the Apennines, and which by length of time have formed considerable beds of it. In this neighbourhood are many *osteocolla*, as the naturalists name them; that is, roots, branches, and trunks of trees incrusted, or petrified by the same calcareous lapidific juice. Lago di Tartari.

* In Opusc. Paral. 77. † Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 80.

Aquæ Albulæ.

The fourteenth mile brought me to the bridge upon the canal of the *Solfatara*. It is thus named from the sulphureous lake, anciently *Aquæ Albulæ;* which, according to Strabo,* were several springs collected together. The lake itself is about a mile north of the bridge. There are many such lakes in Italy. Pliny the younger's description of that of Vadimon† is an exact account of the Solfatara: the whitish-blue colour of the water, the sulphureous smell, the mineral taste, and the floating islands being precisely the same.

Before I arrived at the lake, I perceived at a considerable distance, its disagreeable smell. The water resembles that produced by flour of brimstone boiled with lime. Although Pliny the elder‡ calls this water cold, it is hotter than the external air: for Abbé Nollet§ having plunged a thermometer, graduated according to Reaumur, into this lake, it rose to twenty degrees above the freezing point, while the external air was at sixteen degrees only.

The ground round the lake sounds hollow. It is probably undermined by the water. It is no doubt the crust, detached from the sides and falling into the lake, that has formed the floating islands. They are composed of roots of trees, shrubs, and reeds wove together, and covered with a little earth; so

* "Planitiem illam per quam delabitur Anio, *Albulæ* etiam *perfluunt* aquæ frigidæ *multis fontibus* exorientes, ad varios morbos potæ, aut pro balneis usurpatæ remedium adferentes."—Strabo, Origin. l. 13. c. 13.

† Now *lago di Bassenello*, l. 8. ep. 20.

‡ Hist. Nat. l. 31. c. 3.

§ Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1750.

that they may easily float, and be carried by the wind from side to side of the lake.

The incrusting, or tartarizing quality of this water is very strong; for whatever it touches, except the earth, is in a short time covered with a hard stony matter. This appears from the experiment of throwing a bundle of small sticks, shrubs, or such materials into it, and in a few days you may observe the incrustation. It is remarkable that this tartarizing quality is not so strong in the lake, as it is in the canal that flows from thence. And the further the water has run from the fountain head, until it loses itself in the Anio, the stronger this quality is observed to be. Hence these small white incrustations found in the canal, like sugar-plums, called *confetti di Tivoli.*

Although there are fish in the *Anio*, particularly trouts, both above and below Tivoli, yet after it receives the *Albulæ* there are none to be found in it.—Andreas Baccius, in his book *de Thermis*, gives an account of the medical virtues of these waters, which are quite abandoned by the modern Romans. According to the great naturalist,* they were particularly employed in the cure of wounds.—" Juxtà Romam Albulæ aquæ vulneribus medentur."

As the Solfatara was much frequented by the ancients in the bathing season, besides private houses and public baths, there were here temples erected to different deities, as is evident

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. c. 2.

from inscriptions. But all these are now destroyed, the fields about the lake being covered with reeds and briars.

The only remains of buildings I observed were on the north side of the lake. They are reckoned to be a part of Augustus's baths. Perhaps it was here that Antonius Musa recovered the emperor from a dangerous indisposition by bathing, and killed Marcellus by the same prescription. These baths were afterwards repaired by Zenobia, the renowned queen of Palmyra, and, from her, their ruins are now named *Bagni della Regina.*

In the year 1736, the community of Tivoli, digging near the Solfatara, found several marble columns, statues, and fragments of antiquity, among which there was an altar with this inscription—

AQVIS . ALBVLIS . SAN .
C. VMBREIVS
LAVICANVS . PRO
SAL . V. S. L. M.

In Fabretti's* collection of inscriptions, we read the following—

AQVIS . ALBVLIS
SANTISSIMIS
VLPIA . ATHENAIS
M. VLPII . AVG.

* Cap. 6. inscrip. 8.

LIB . AB . EPISTV
LIS . VXOR
LIBENS
D. D.

From these inscriptions we find that *Albulæ* had temples and altars as a deity. Seneca remarks that the ancients paid divine honours to deep lakes, hot springs, and copious fountains gushing out from the bowels of the earth.—"Subita ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet: coluntur aquarum calentium fontes; et stagna quædam, vel opacitas vel immensa altitudo sacravit."*

Forest of Albunea.

About the sulphur lake, and towards Tivoli, was perhaps the forest of Albunea, in which was a sacred grove dedicated to Faunus. For to this Virgil seems to lead king Latinus, to consult his father Faunus, as an oracle :—

"At rex solicitus monstris, oracula Fauni
Fatidici genitoris adit; lucosque sub alta
Consulit Albunea: nemorum quæ maxima sacro
Fonte sonat, sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim."†

Villa of Zenobia.

Zenobia having graced the splendid triumph of her conqueror Aurelian,‡ he gave her a villa, not far from that of

* Sen. ep. 41. † Æn. l. 7. v. 81.

‡ Great talents, and strict military discipline, advanced Aurelian from a Pannonian peasant to the imperial dignity. His cruelty, however, according to his historian Vopiscus, induces me to class him among the bad emperors.—"Aurelianus, quod negari non potest, severus, truculentus, sanguinarius fuit

Adrian. Trebellius Pollio calls the place *Conchè.** Where this villa precisely stood is uncertain. I find, indeed, that Ravillius, in his map of the diocese of Tivoli, calls the plain that extends from Monticelli towards the sulphur lake, *Piani di Conchè.* At Vitriano, which joins to the plain, many remains of ancient buildings have been dug up. In the year 1755 was found a piece of a cornice of plaster, on which were painted some characters, which have been judged Palmyrian. This perhaps had been part of the queen's villa, where she spun out the remainder of her days. Scholar of Longinus, and celebrated for courage, for learning, and for taste in the fine arts, we may suppose that she rendered this villa, if not elegant, at least commodious and agreeable. She was buried, it is supposed, about two miles north of the lake, at a place now called *Collé di Ferro.*

Ponte Lucano.

The sixteenth milestone brought me to *Ponte Lucano.* Some authors say that this bridge was so named either from *lucus,* a sacred grove in this neighbourhood, or from a victory obtained here by the Romans over the Lucani, or from a village that stood near it, of which there are still some ruins called *ad volcanum*; and from hence the bridge was sometimes called *Pons ad volcanum.* But it is more probable that it was

princeps."†—So few indeed were the truly good Roman Emperors, that their names, to use the expression of the same author, might have been inscribed on a ring.—"In uno anulo bonos principes posse perscribi atque depingi."‡

* Triginta tyranni, c. 29.

† Vopiscus in Vita Aurel. c. 36. ‡ Ib. c. 42.

thus named from M. Plautius Lucanus,* by whom it was perhaps built. The Plautii were a great family of Tivoli, who figured in the state, and had considerable possessions there.

At the end of the bridge is the Plautian sepulchre.† It is a round tower, raised on a square base, not unlike that of Cæcilia Metella, on the *via Appia;* and, like that too, had been used during the civil wars as a fort to guard the bridge. The front of this monument had been afterwards added, in order to gain space, to put up inscriptions to record the honours of this distinguished family. There seems to have been five inscriptions here, two of which only remain. They have been published by several authors, particularly by Gruter, and by Domenico de Sanctis.‡—One of these inscriptions is to Marcus Plautius Silvanus, and to his wife Lartia. The tower had probably been built by them, for this was the original inscription placed on it, a fragment of which still remains; but, when the front was added, the family had thought proper to cause it to be repeated on its centre. And adjoining to this inscription is one to A. Plautius Virgulanius, son of Marcus, who died at the age of nine years. The other inscription, and which is indeed a curious record, is to Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Ælianus, son of Marcus.§ Among his many titles he is designed— Plautian sepulchre.

* We find this Plautius Lucanus mentioned in an inscription, published by Gruter. Page 195. n. 2.

† See Piranesi's view of this monument.—Ant. Rom. Tom. 3. tab. 12.

‡ Il Mausoleo de' Plauzi in Tivoli, dell'. D. Domenico de Sanctis.

§ It is published by Gruter, page 453; and by de Sanctis, ut supra.

LEGAT . ET . COMITI . CLAVD . CAESARIS . IN . BRITANNIA.— The *comes*, till this office was rendered purely honorary by Constantius, was an officer of distinction attached to the emperor, who attended him in his military expeditions, and was his counsellor in every thing that occurred. Tacitus,* in his life of Agricola, mentions Aulus, but not Tiberius Plautius, having been sent into Britain by Claudius. He calls him *bellò egregius*. As this inscription is of more authority than any manuscript, may we not conclude that Aulus, in place of Tiberius, has crept into the text of Tacitus, by the carelessness of transcribers?

Hadrian's villa.

Here the road separates. The one to the left hand leads to the *Porta dell' Collé* of Tivoli, two miles from the bridge, and the other, to the right, to Hadrian's villa.

The villas of the old Romans were only country houses, contrived for the conveniency of private life. But when riches, the effect of their conquests, grew upon them, their villas rather resembled cities than the seats of particular persons; and in which nothing breathed but luxury and pleasure. This taste increased greatly under the emperors, each endeavouring to outdo his predecessor in grandeur. Hadrian,† endowed

* Agricolæ Vita, c. 14.

† The virtues and vices of Hadrian were so conspicuous, that it is difficult whether to class him among the good or bad princes, among the benefactors or scourges of mankind. But what opinion soever we may form of Hadrian's moral and political character, he was, if we may give credit to his historian, Aurelius Victor,‡ eminent in literature, in

‡ In vita Hadriani.

with an excellent genius for the fine arts, having visited all the empire, brought home with him whatever he found most curious to adorn his villa, of which he himself was the architect. And, indeed, whether we consider its extent, being about three miles long, and a mile broad, or the greatness and variety of the buildings, temples, theatres, circusses, baths, porticoes, &c. or the exquisite works of sculpture and painting that ornamented it, this villa must have been one of the finest of antiquity. Spartian writes that the emperor gave the names of the most remarkable buildings in the world to these he erected in it. The Lyceum of Aristotle, the Academia of Plato, the Prytaneum of Athens, the Canopus of Egypt, the Pœcilé of the Stoics, the Tempé of Thessaly, the Elysian fields, and the infernal regions were to be seen here.*

Pirro Ligorio, a better architect than accurate antiquary, has given a plan and description of this villa, and which has been since revised by Cortini,† but in which there are still many mistakes. Barbarous hands joined to all-devouring time have, indeed so defaced it, that it is now very difficult, I may almost say impossible, to trace out these different build-

science, and the fine arts.—"Nam non sermone tantùm, sed cæteris disciplinis, canendi, psallendi, medendique scientia, musicus, geometra, pictor, fictor ex ære, ex marmore proximè ad Policletos et Euphranoras."

* "Tiburtinam villam mirè exædificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum, et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lyceum, Academiam, Prytaneum, Canopum, Pœcilem, Tempe, vocaret; et ut nihil prætermitteret etiam inferos finxit."—Spartiani Vita Hadriani, c. 26.

† Pianta della Villa Tiburtina di Adriano Cesare, da Pirro Ligorio, &c. Roma, 1751. fol.

ings. And it must become daily more so, as the persons who have got possession of it, throw down the remains, either in hopes of finding statues and other valuable things, or to plant vineyards.

From the irregularity of the villa, it seems probable that there had been buildings here before Hadrian's time, and which he had caused to be joined together by corridors and other passages. These corridors, or *cryptæ*, were painted in the grotesque manner, and some fragments of them still remain. It was from them, perhaps, that Raphael took the idea of painting the lodges of the Vatican. This kind of painting, Pliny tells us, * was introduced into Rome in the time of Augustus, by a painter named Ludius.

Here were two theatres. Ligorio has greatly misplaced the one, which we find in that part of the villa now belonging to Conté Fedé. He has placed it on the other side of the rivulet, where there are no remains of buildings: whereas it stands where he has marked an amphitheatre, which he calls *Pantanello*. The seats for the spectators, and the *proscenium*, are yet to be seen.

The other theatre stands about the middle of the villa. Giuseppe Pannini has given a plan and elevation of it. The scene had been elegantly ornamented by two porticoes, the one above the other, and each supported by twelve composite

* Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 10.

columns. The columns of the lower portico were granite, and those above *giallo-antico*, fluted. There is a small round temple, behind the middle of the semicircular part, which has an *atrium*, paved with mosaic, that projects into the theatre. This perhaps was a temple dedicated to Apollo and the Muses. As the games and theatrical entertainments of the ancients were connected with their religious ceremonies, it was usual to build small temples in or near their theatres. Thus there was a temple at Pompey's theatre, in which Claudius* made his supplications, and from whence he descended into the orchestra, to give the signal to begin the play. Thus we find, on the reverse of a medal of Gordianus, struck by the colony of Heraclea in Pontus, and published by Buonarotti,† a theatre with a square temple, probably sacred to Hercules, as we observe the statue of that deity placed in the orchestra.

Many of the finest statues now at Rome have been found in this villa; particularly the curious collection of Egyptian idols, the elegant Flora, the two Centaurs, &c. preserved in the Capitol: the Caunis and Byblis belonging to Conté Fedé, &c.

Among the many precious works of art, with which Hadrian ornamented his villa, I cannot but mention the mosaic picture placed in the centre of a pavement, discovered by Cardinal Furietti, in the year 1737, and which is now preserved in the Capitol. It represents an elegant bason full of water:

* Suet. Vit. Claud. c. 21.—Vide p. 294.

† Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcuni Medaglioni Antichi. Tav. II. No. 7.

on its edge sit four pigeons of various colours: one of them drinks, another picks his plumage, and two are placed in different attitudes. The whole is grouped with much taste, and is a proof of the perfection to which the ancients had carried this ingenious art. The stones of which it is composed are so small, and exactly joined, that unless it is viewed very near, it appears to be a fine painting, rather than a mosaic.* It would seem that Hadrian brought it from Pergamus, and that it was the work of Sosus, which Pliny† thus describes—"mirabilis ibi columba bibens, et aquam umbra capitis infuscans: apricantur aliæ scabentes sese in canthari labro."

Here too was found the elegant medallion of Parian marble, an half length figure in profile, of Antinous, now preserved at the villa Albani, without the *Porta Salara.* The place where it was discovered, and its resemblance to the medals of that celebrated catamite, leave no doubt whose portrait it is, otherwise it might have passed for a young Bacchus. It is published by Borioni,‡ and by Winckelmann.§

After viewing these magnificent ruins, I came to

Tivoli, or Tibur.

Tivoli, or *Tibur,* a town of Latium, of great antiquity. The ancients computed twenty miles from Rome to Tivoli:

* See Furietti de Musivis, p. 29, where there is an exact engraving of this mosaic.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 36. c. 25.

‡ Collectanea Ant. Rom. tab. 9.

§ Monumenti Antichi inediti.

"Quo te bis decimus duxit ab urbe lapis,"

says Martial.* The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, as corrected by Cluverius, in his *Italia*, reckons sixteen miles to the Solfatara, and four from thence to Tivoli:—"ad aquas Albulas XVI.—Tibure IIII."—With these agree the *Itinerarium Antonini*. At present they count eighteen miles to Tivoli from the gate of St. Laurence.

The history of the founders of ancient cities is generally lost in fable. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us,† that Tibur was built by the Sicani, who called it Sicilium. But they being drove out by Tiburtus, Catillus, and Corax, the sons of Catillus, admiral of Evander's fleet, it was named Tibur from the eldest. Catillus gave name to a mountain east of Tibur, and Corax to Cora, another town of Latium. Virgil‡ names these brothers, with distinction, among the auxiliaries of Turnus:—

"Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia mœnia linquunt,
Fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem,
Catillusque, acerque Corax, Argiva juventus;
Et primam ante aciem densa inter tela feruntur."

This Greek colony is said to have come into Italy sixty years before the Trojan war. If this account is true, Tiburtus is almost five hundred years older than Romulus. Divine honours were given to Tiburtus, and a sacred grove and fountain

* L. 4. ep. 57.

† Ant. Rom. l. 1. c. 2. sect. 4.

‡ Æn. l. 7. v. 670.

dedicated to him. Horace alludes to this—" et Tiburni lucus."*—The people of Latium considered the founders of their cities as deities.

The Tiburtines maintained long and bloody wars against the Romans, till, at last, overcome with the other cities of Latium, they obtained from these universal conquerors the freedom of Rome.

As Tibur stands on a height, one enjoys from it a very fine prospect of the Campagnia of Rome, and the sea. Such a situation might well make Virgil say—" Tiburque superbum."† —But his commentator Servius will have them called—" Tiburtini superbi"—by the senate of Rome, on account of a haughty speech made to them by the deputies of that place.

Cascade of the Anio.

The Anio, at the east end of the town, rushing down from a great height, forms a noble cascade:‡ and, after a second fall, under a high bridge, loses itself for some time among rocks, which are worn into surprising shapes by the force of the water. Hence it is that Horace says§—" et præceps

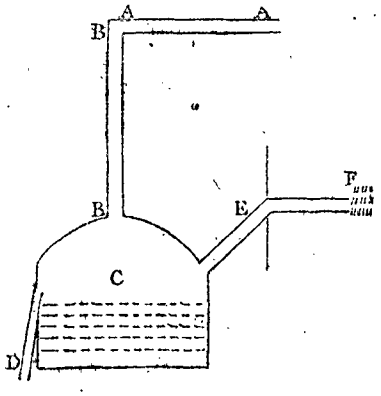
* L. 1. od. 7. † Æn. l. 7. v. 630.

‡ This cascade, though natural, has been assisted by art, as we find from an inscription placed at its side. It was begun in 1592, and finished the following year. § Lib. 1. od. 7.—Lord Orrery, in a note on l. 8. ep. 17. of Pliny the younger, says that Horace uses the epithet *præceps*, because of the rapid manner in which this river falls into the Tiber, and adds, that the place is called *la Cascata*. Whereas nothing can be smoother than the junction of these rivers, which is little more than two miles, in a straight line, from Rome, and near six-

Anio."—And such is the violence of the fall, that its foam and mist almost darken the air; and which, joined to the noise of hammers of forges, and paper mills, in the neighbourhood, produce a singular and awful effect. A branch of this river is carried through the city, which, after turning some mills, and supplying the noble fountains in the gardens of Esté, tumbles down very high banks, at different places, and forms the little cascades—*le Cascatelle.* We must view them from the opposite side of the river. It is indeed impossible to convey by writing an exact idea of these cascades, which are often visited by the landscape painters, whose warmest imaginations can add nothing to their beauty.

A forge blown by a fall of water.

At the side of the great cascade there is a forge, which is blown by the air produced from a fall of water, instead of bellows. As this method seems simple and ingenious, and in certain situations may be usefully adopted, I shall endeavour to give you an idea of it.



teen miles from the *Cascata.* So difficult is it to write with accuracy of the geography and antiquities of a country, without having examined them on the spot.

AA is an horizontal channel, which conveys the water to the perpendicular channel BB. The fall of water drives the air or wind with great violence into the cistern C; which finding an outlet at E, rushes through the pipe, and blows the forge F. D is an outlet to carry off the water.

Hercules, and the Sibylla Tiburtina.

The principal deities adored at Tivoli were the Grecian Hercules, and the Sibylla Tiburtina, called Albunea. The former spent some time in this place among his countrymen, who erected to him a temple, and many altars. The present cathedral is said to be built on the foundation of this temple. And such was their esteem of this heroic deity that they often called their town Heraclea.

A temple, commonly called the Sibyl's.

'On a rock that overlooks the second cascade, I saw the remains of an elegant temple. It is commonly called the Sibyl's temple: but Palladio, who has given a plan and elevation of it, calls it that of Vesta.*' It is a small rotonda, surrounded with an open portico of fluted columns of the Corinthian order. The diameter of the cell, or interior part of the temple, is about thirty-two palms Roman. It is built with great taste, and is the most beautiful remain I have seen of ancient architecture. Although we have no certainty to whom it was dedicated, yet its form and ornaments are very applicable to Vesta. She was the same as the earth:—

"Vesta eadem est quæ Terra."

says Ovid.† Her temples were therefore round, an emblem

* Palladio, l. 4. c. 23.—This temple has been measured and designed, by almost every artist who has seen it. † Fast. l. 6. v. 267.

of the figure of our globe: and the decoration of the frieze, and capitals of the columns of this temple are expressive of the productions of the Earth, and consequently of her worship: viz. fruits and flowers, and the heads of oxen. The ox was the symbol of agriculture, and sacrificed to the Earth. Thus Faunus advised Numa to offer up two oxen to her:—

"Morte boum tibi, rex, tellus placanda duarum."*

—It appears from Vitruvius,† that the ancients were attentive to place the temples of their gods in the most conspicuous situations, that they might be the oftener seen by the people. And indeed no situation could agree better with such an idea than that of this temple. From the bridge I had a most advantageous view of it. It is a building worthy of the purest age of the fine arts; but it is uncertain when it was erected. It had, however, been executed under the direction of L. Cellius, as appears from a fragment of an inscription, extant on that part of the frieze still preserved; viz.

----E‡ . L . CELLIO . L . F .

Near to the temple of Vesta, there is a little church, evidently an ancient building, dedicated to St. George. It is probably the temple of the *Tiburtine Sibyl.* It is the

The domus Albuneæ.

"Domus Albuneæ resonantis,"

* Ovid. Fast. l. 4. v. 665. † Lib. 4. c. 5. and 7.

‡ This E is perhaps the last letter of the word CVRANTE, or CVRATORE. But if this was the temple of Vesta, there was place round the frieze to have inscribed it thus—

—AEDEM . VESTAE . S . P . Q . T . PECVNIA . PVBLICA . RESTITVIT . CVRATORE . L . CELLIO . L . F .

as Horace* expresses it, exposed to all the noise and rush of the foaming Anio. It is a parallelogram, with an open portico, ornamented with four Ionic columns, and terminated with a pediment. Joining to this temple, there is a grotto cut out of the rock, which now serves for a cellar, and which some antiquaries suppose to have been the ancient *domus Albunea.*

A cart wheel petrified.

On the face of the rock, under the temple, I saw a singular object of natural history; viz. the wheel of a cart petrified. It must have been inclosed in the calcareous matter, when loose, of which this rock is composed, and afterwards, by lapidific juice, petrified together. The rock has been broken down, by which means the wheel is exposed to view. Could the antiquity of this wheel be calculated, it would be a curious problem in nature.

Villas at Tivoli.

The situation of *Tibur*, the purity of its air, its convenient distance from Rome, joined to its fertile fields, producing wine, oil, fruits, and corn, could not fail to render it one of the agreeable retirements of the Romans. Hence we find that many of their great men had villas here: particularly Marius, Brutus, Cassius, Quintilius Varo, Cocceius, Lepidus, Mæcenas, Horace, Catullus, Manlius Vopiscus, Martial, &c. Many ruins of ancient buildings are to be seen, but so defaced that we can form no just idea of what they were. It is, indeed, very uncertain if the antiquaries of Tivoli are right in the places they

* L. 1, od. 7.

assign to the different villas. Man will swallow down any story rather than appear ignorant. The truth is, we can have no certainty of the exact situations of ancient places, of which there are no remains, unless we are aided either by historical records, or by uninterupted tradition, or by inscriptions dug up on the spot; for without such guides, conjecture alone will be apt to mislead us.

Mæcenas's villa.

Of these remains the villa of Mæcenas is the most considerable.* It stands on the south bank of the Anio. Here Augustus was a frequent guest, and mingled with the wits of that celebrated age. He even did business here: for he used to hear causes, and pronounce judgment in the porticoes of the temple of Hercules.†

Q. Varo's villa.

On the opposite side of the river stood the villa of Quintilius Varo. He enjoyed from it a most beautiful prospect of Tivoli, the Cascatelle, and the Campagnia. Here I observed many remains of buildings, and particularly a curious reservoir for water: although less, its form resembles the one at Baia, called the *piscina mirabilis*. The roof is supported by twenty-four square columns of brick. The ruins of this villa show

* A learned antiquary, a friend of mine, thought that these ruins are not Mæcenas's villa, but part of the porticoes of the temple of Hercules, which were of great extent. But when they are examined with attention, they appear to be the remains of a magnificent palace, and not of a temple, or any part of it.

† "Tibur: ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persæpe jus dixit." Suet. Vita Aug. c. 72.

that it was worthy of the elegant friend of Virgil and Horace.*

Horace's villa.

Not far from this, and near to the church of St. Anthony, Volpi† places the Villa of Horace. But by the description he himself gives us of his villa, which he calls *Lucretilis*, it stood near to the *Fanum Vacunæ*, now named *Rocca Giovane*, about ten miles from Tivoli. It is from thence he writes his epistle to Fuscus Aristius :‡

"Hæc tibi dictabam post Fanum putre Vacunæ."

Although this villa was in the country of the Sabines, yet from its vicinity to Tivoli, it might be called his Tiburtine villa. Horace, who neither had nor desired riches, thought himself sufficiently happy to possess it.—

"Satis beatus unicis Sabinis."

The hills, the woods, the fountain, the river, the places in the

The Variana clades.

* It is to this Varo that Horace inscribes the 18th ode of the first book. The commentators generally imagine that it was on his death that Horace addressed the beautiful ode to Virgil—"Quis desiderio," l. 1. ode 24. But this is evidently a mistake. For Quintilius Varo was killed in Germany sixteen years after the death of Horace. The *Variana clades* was in the year of Rome 762, and Horace died in the year 746. The Quintilius, therefore, whose death the poet laments, seems to be Quintilius Cremonensis, supposed to have been Virgil's relation. He died in the year of Rome 730. Eusebius, Chron. ad An. primum Olymp. 189

† Vet. Lat. Tom. 10. l. 18. c. 8.

‡ Lib. 1. ep. 10.

§ Lib. 2. od. 18.

neighbourhood, which retain almost the same names given to them by the poet, all concur to fix his villa here :*

"Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia† rivus,
Quem Mandela,‡ bibit rugosus frigore Pagus;
Quid sentire putas ? quid credis, amice, precari ?
Sit mihi quod nunc est; etiam minus; et mihi vivam
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volunt Dî."§

To this agreeable farm, which afforded the conveniences, although not the luxuries of life, Horace wished often to retire, from the subjection of the great, and the hurry of the city, to live with himself and the Muses :

"O rus, quando ego te aspiciam ? quandoque licebit,
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno, et inertibus horis
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ ?"‖

It is true, caressed by the generous Mæcenas, he was often obliged to live with him at Tivoli. Here, no doubt, he used frequently to stroll along its romantic banks. Delightful scene ! methinks I see the bard, amidst the singing of birds, the fall of waters, and shady groves, meditating his immortal songs; or as he himself says,¶

——— "Ego, apis Matinæ
more modoque,

* See Dissertazione sopra la Villa di Orazio Flacco, dell' abbate Dominico de Sanctis. † Now Licenza. ‡ Now Bardela.
§ Hor. l. 1. epist. 18. v. 104. ‖ Ib. l. 2. sat. 6. v. 60 ¶ Lib. 4. ode 2.

Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum, circa nemus, uvidique
Tiburis ripas, operosa parvus
Carmina fingo."

The many beauties of Tivoli could not but make the philosophic poet wish,

"Tibur Argeo positum colono
Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ;
Sit modus lasso maris, et viarum,
Militiæque."*

Fons Blandusiæ.

Horace tells us, that there was in his villa a spring, so considerable that it might give name to a rivulet:

"Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus †

Such a fountain is to be seen, a little to the north of the *Lucus Vacunæ*. It gave name to the *Digentia*. It is [illegible] commentators suppose, that this spring is the same with the *Fons Blandusiæ*.‡ But this surely is a mistake. The truth is, the poet neither mentions its situation, nor hints that it was his property. And although I do not pretend to determine where it stood, there is, however, a copious limpid stream§ which rushes out of a small cave, near to the *pons Cellius*, below Tivoli, and which, if it is not the remain of an ancient aque-

* Hor. lib. 2. od. 6. † Lib. 1. epist. 16. ‡ Lib. 3. od. 13.
§ It is called *Fons aquæ aureæ*, and by corruption *Aquacoria*, or *Accoria*.

duct, agrees with the beautiful description of the *Fons Blandusiæ*:

"Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculæ
Nescit tangere.
- - - - - - -
———Cavis impositam ilicem
Saxis, unde loquaces
Lymphæ desiliunt tuæ."

Although there are no remains of Horace's villa, yet his works, as he justly foresaw, are a lasting monument to his memory, which time cannot destroy:

"Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius.
- - - - -
Non omnis moriar; multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam. Usque ego postera
Crescam laude recens; dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacita virgine Pontifex."*

—The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the boast of Rome, with its proud priest conducting the silent Vestal to sacrifice there, are no more; while the works of the bard, the delight of every reader of taste, are immortal.

Having, with a classical curiosity, viewed the ground where Horace's villa stood, I returned back to Tivoli.

* Lib. 3. od. 30.

With no small degree of enthusiasm we contemplate the habitations, even in ruins, of those great men, who have rendered themselves the admiration of the world, either by their actions or writings. This kind of pleasure is finely expressed by Cicero, who makes his polite friend Atticus say—"Movemur enim, nescio quo pacto, locis ipsis, in quibus eorum quos diligimus, aut admiramur, adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ, non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quàm recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare, sit solitus: studioseque eorum sepulchra contemplor."*—Cicero seems to have been fond of this just thought, for he has even amplified it, in the beginning of the fifth book *de Finibus*, and draws from it this important inference.—"Tantum is admonitionis inest in locis; ut non sine causa ex his memoriæ ducta sit disciplina."

M. Vopiscus's villa.

The villa of Manilius Vopiscus, so elegantly described by P. Statius,† is supposed to have stood on the banks of the Anio, below the cascades.

Modern villa at Esté.

Modern Tivoli is very irregular, and meanly built. The palace and gardens of Esté are indeed remarkable. At present they are much neglected, especially the water-works, which were among the first great designs of this kind in Europe, and might have served as models for those of Versailles, rather than these of Frascati, which are later, and not so con-

* De Legibus, l. 2. c. 2.

† Stat. Sylv. l. 1. car. 3.

siderable.* In the palace there are several roofs painted by the Zucchari. There were formerly some good statues here, which Pope Benedict XIV. purchased from the Duke of Modena, and which are now preserved in the Capitol.

Temple of Tussis.

Returning from Tivoli, by the *Porta dell' Collé* to the *Ponte Lucano*, I saw in a vineyard to my left hand, a small rotonda, commonly called the temple of *Tussis*. This building is simple, and without any ornaments. I am, indeed, uncertain whether it had been a temple or a sepulchral monument. Among the infinite variety of fictitious gods, adopted by the Romans, I do not remember, to have met with Tussis, or the god of coughing. Although Catullus† does not invoke this deity, he acknowledges, however, that the air of Tivoli had cured him of that disease.—

"Fui libenter in tuâ suburbanâ
Villâ, malamque pectore expui tussim."

—But it would not have been singular, had this been a temple dedicated to Tussis; since Cicero‡ and Pliny,§ ridiculing superstition, inform us, that the Romans erected a temple to *fever*, *Febri fanum*, on the Palatine hill. Was not this worshipping the devil from fear? Such divinities seem to have been invoked, not to procure a positive good, but to prevent a contingent evil.

* See Addison's Italy, p. 215.—He calls villa d'Esté villa de Medicis, p. 213.

† Ep. 42. ‡ De Naturâ Deorum, l. 3. c. 25.

§ Hist. Nat. l. 2. c. 7.

Inscription to the sons of Constantine.

A little further on, I observed, on the side of the highway, the following inscription, which was dug up in the year 1735. It was set up, by cardinal Imperiali's order, at the place where it was found, and where, probably, it had originally been erected.

BEATISSIMO . SAECVLO
DOMINORVM
NOSTRORVM
CONSTANTI
ET ~~CONSTANTIS~~
AVGVSTORVM
SENATVS + POPVLVSQ
ROMANVS
CLIVVM + TIBVRTINVM
IN PLANITIEM REDEGIT
CVRANTE + L + CVRCIO
SECONDO + APRONIANI
PRAEF + VRB + FIL
ASTERIO + C . V
CORRECTORE + FLAM
ET . PICENI .

From this inscription we find, that the access to Tivoli had been much improved, by levelling of ground, in the time of the sons of Constantine the Great. It had been done under the direction of Lucius Turcius Secundus Asterius (son of Apronianus, præfect of Rome) corrector of the Flaminian and Picenian provinces. The *correctors* were magistrates, instituted about the time of the emperor Commodus, who

governed one or more provinces, and who judged causes, both civil and criminal, like the high magistrates of Rome. They were called *viri clarissimi*, a title then given only to the first personages of the state. Constantine, the elder of the three brothers, is not here mentioned. This proves that the inscription was set up after the year 340, in which he was killed. Constans' name has been defaced, yet so as we can read it. This must have been done in the year 350, in which Constans was murdered; and Magnentius became master of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and part of Illyricum. But as Constantius was master of the East, and had a powerful army, they spared his name.

The pleasure, my dear friend, I had in examining Tivoli, made me flatter myself that an account of it, and its environs, would not be unacceptable to you. Such as it is, I give it you. But how afraid am I lest it should not answer your expectation!

I am, &c.

APPENDIX. No. III.

SARCOPHAGUS,

IN THE CHURCH OF ST. LAURENCE.*

At Rome we frequently find heathen urns placed in churches, as sepulchral monuments, although the sculpture on them has no connection with the Christian rites. Thus I saw a sarcophagus in the church of St. Laurence, half a mile without the gate, on the Tivoli road, which serves for the sepulchre of Cardinal William, nephew of Innocent IV.

On this sarcophagus there is a bas-relief, representing an ancient marriage. Although the sculpture is indifferent, the subject is curious and instructive. But as there is no original inscription on it, I cannot ascertain the time when it was executed, or the person to whom it belonged. The style of the sculpture, however, points out the declension of that noble art.

The length of this sarcophagus is seven feet nine inches and an half, English measure. Its height, including the cover, four feet five inches and an half; of which the cover is

* See page 402.

The front of the Sarcophagus in the church of S. Lawrence, on the Tivoli road.

The ends of the Sarcophagus in the church of S. Laurence.

one foot one inch and an half. And its breadth three feet and eleven inches.

Many bas-relieves, and even some pictures are preserved, where marriages are represented:* but I have met with none that conveys to us so many of the marriage ceremonies as this does.

It has indeed been published and explained by several authors,† particularly by Ficoroni;‡ but neither their plates, nor their descriptions are given with that accuracy I could wish. I shall therefore present the reader an exact engraving, and endeavour to explain the different figures on this monument.

1. Hymen carrying his torch, and who used to sing—

"Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io.
Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io."§

2. The bridegroom, or *sponsus*, with his head bare, giving his right hand to the bride, and holding the marriage articles, *tabulas nuptiales*, in his left.

3. The bride, *sponsa*, with her head covered with the *flam-*

* See Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum—engraved by P. S. Bartoli, and explained by Bellori.

† Montfaucon, Ant. expl. l. 1. c. 9.

‡ Roma Ant. da Ficoroni, l. 1. c. 17.

§ Catullus, carm. 60.

meum, or yellow scarf, giving her right hand to the bridegroom.

4. The *Flaminica-dialis*, or wife of the priest of Jupiter, standing behind, and embracing the married couple: or perhaps a vestal virgin, for they too had a right to perform that ceremony.

5. At the side of the bride stands a bride-maid, or *pronuba*.

6 and 7. Two bride-men, or *pronubi*, stand at the side of the bridegroom. According to Ausonius, there seem commonly to have been four *pronubi*, and as many *pronubæ* :—

> " Et juvenes quatuor totidem innuptæque puellæ,
> Omnibus in morem tonsa coma." *

These seven personages stand under a sort of canopy. In the church of Rome, during the ceremony of a marriage, it is still the custom, in some places, to hold a linen cloth or canopy over the married pair.†

8. The *flamen*, or priest, holding the end of his *flammeum* with his left hand, and stretching out his right, which is

* Auson. Eidyl. 13. 64.

† Pope Nicholas I. among other marriage ceremonies, mentions the canopy or veil, which was held up by four men: he calls it—*velamen cœleste*:—It was considered as a mark of modesty and chastity; for he adds—" Verum tamen velamen illud non suscipit qui ad secundas nuptias migrat."—See Muratori—Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane, Dissert. 20.

broken off, to an altar, or rather to a basket containing flowers or fruit.

9. Before the altar is a young person, in whose hands are, perhaps, the nuts which were given at marriages. Virgil says,—

"Sparge, marite, nuces." *

10. Before the altar is likewise a young man, or *Popa*, with a pair of scissars in his hand, ready to sheer a sheep, in order to present the wool to the bride to spin: an emblem of household industry.

11. Behind the *Popa* is a body, whose head being broken off, it is difficult to ascertain his office. Perhaps he was a *Camillus*, with his *tibia*.

These last three figures stand before a kind of portico, supported by four columns: or perhaps it is the *anclabris*, a sort of portable altar, on which the priests used to place the offerings or sacred vessels.

12. A woman, whose right hand is broken off, but in her left she holds a turtle dove; the symbol of conjugal love.

13. A woman holding a garland of flowers to crown the married pair.

* Ecl. 8. v. 30.—See also Pliny's Nat. Hist. l. 15. c. 22.

14. A woman holding in her left hand a roll, which probably contains the *epithalamium*, or marriage song.

15. A woman crowned, representing Cybelé, holding a *cornucopia* in her left hand; an emblem of peace, plenty, and increase. Her right hand is broken off.

On one end of the sarcophagus* are three young women.—One of them carries a *patera*—another a box of perfumes—and a third a musical, or some instrument of sacrifice.

On the other end of the sarcophagus are likewise three figures, viz. a young man carrying a basket of fruit—2. A woman holding a festoon of flowers—and, 3. A *Popa*, with a knife in his right hand, and perhaps the *secespita* in his left, going to sacrifice a sow. At marriages the Romans used to offer up this animal, on account of its fecundity, to Juno Lucina. They seem to have borrowed this custom, as they did most of their religious ceremonies, from the Hetruscans.†

Marriage, and its sacred rights, were early established in the world:—

"Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jure maritis."‡

Various indeed were the forms invented by civilized man to ascertain this important contract.

* See plate XII.

† Varro de Re Rust. l. 2. c. 11.

‡ Hor. Poet. v. 398.

From the beginning of Rome, marriages between patricians and plebeians were prohibited. To preserve that distinction of ranks, and to keep up the animosity that subsisted between them, it was made a positive law by the decemvirs.* It did not, however, long exist; as, seven years after, it was repealed by Canuleius, tribune of the people.†

Marriages, indeed, between Romans and strangers were reckoned unlawful. Thus the marriage of Marc Antony and Cleopatra was condemned at Rome: nor could the renowned queen of Egypt, great and beautiful as she was, be, according to their customs, mother of a Roman citizen.

Some alterations, with respect to marriage, were afterwards introduced, particularly by Augustus, by the law called *papia poppæa*,‡ by which a senator, or the son of a senator, could not marry a freedwoman, nor a comedian, nor a prostitute, nor any whose father or mother had exercised a low profession. This prohibition was carried still further by Constantine,§ and by Marcian.‖ But Justinian, to enable him to marry Theodora, a comedian and a prostitute, prevailed on his predecessor Justin, to abolish, by a new constitution, these restraints on marriage.¶

Libertinism in the men, and extravagance and infidelity in the women, were great obstacles to marriage. It was for this

* Laws of the XII. Tables, tab. XI. law 2. † Livy, l. 4. c. 5.
‡ Lex 44. Dig. de Ritu. Nuptiar. § Lex 1. Cod. de Naturalibus Liberis.
‖ Lex 7. Cod. de Incestis et Inutil. Nupt. ¶ Procop. in Anecdotis, p. 46.

reason that, as early as the 518th year of Rome, the censors, when they numbered the people, made all the young men take an oath that they would marry. Julius Cæsar and Augustus, to repair the loss of citizens destroyed in the civil wars, enacted many laws to encourage marriage.*

The Romans seem to have introduced among them three kinds of marriages, viz. *confarreatione, coemptione, et usu.*—Of each of these modes, I shall endeavour to give an idea.

Of these marriages that by *confarreation* was the most solemn and honourable. It could only be celebrated in presence of the *pontifex maximus*, or of the *flamen dialis*. The *flaminica*, or a vestal virgin, seems likewise to have assisted. It was a sort of sacrifice, in which entered augury. A clap of thunder, or any other sinistrous omen, would have stopped or retarded the marriage ceremony. It was done by means of a little flour, *far*, mixed with salt, and some fruits; an emblem, no doubt, of family economy. Such a marriage had great privileges annexed to it; since we find that no one could be advanced to the dignity of the *flamen dialis*, unless he was born of parents so married. But these marriages, by confarreation, were much laid aside towards the end of the republic, and in the time of the emperors.† Perhaps it partly proceeded from the progress that free-thinking had made, and which rendered the religious ceremonies by which such marriages were performed disagreeable; as well as from the great difficulty of

* See Heineccius ad Leg. Jul. et Pap. Popp. l. 1. c. 2.

† Tacit. Ann. l. 4. c. 16.

dissolving them, which could only be done by other tedious religious rites. Other reasons may have occurred that rendered these marriages less frequent.

The second kind of marriage, by *coemption*, came to be more common. The man and woman, as in civil sales, in presence of witnesses, gave each other a piece of money, as a mark of mutual purchase. The man asked the woman if she consented to be his wife; and the woman asked the man if he consented to be her husband. On their both answering in the affirmative, they joined hands, and the marriage was completed.

Marriages thus contracted, as well as those by *confarreation*, gave the husband absolute power over his wife. She became part of his family, partook of all his civil and religious rights, and was subject to his domestic tribunal.

Women, except the vestal virgins, who enjoyed particular privileges, were by the Roman law always considered as minors. They were either subject to the power of their own families, or to that of their husbands. Of themselves they could execute no valid act. Hence it was that, to preserve more liberty, and not to divest themselves of their fortune, they chose to remain under the tuition of their own families. To effect which, the woman entered into a civil contract to live with such a man as her husband. But, unless she lived a complete *year* with him, without interruption, he did not acquire over her the power of a husband. By absenting her-

self three days every year, she interrupted, what the law called, his *usucapio*, or prescriptive right over her.* This gave rise to the third kind of marriage, *usu*, by usage or custom. It was concluded without the religious or other ceremonies necessary for the two former, and became at Rome the most common mode of marriage. But, misled by the word *year*, some authors have supposed that these marriages were contracted for a *year* only; which surely is a mistake.

A woman married either by *confarreation* or by *coemption* seems to have had the appellations of *uxor*, *mater-familias*, and *matrona*; but, if married by *usu*, she was called *mulier*. The two former were named *nuptiæ*, and the latter *matrimonium*, or *connubium*. Simple marriage was the institution of nature; whereas the *nuptiæ* were religious and civil ceremonies invented by society.

Although all the particular rites, that distinguish these marriages from each other, are not perfectly known; yet the pomp and solemnities attending the one represented on this sarcophagus, leave us no reason to doubt that it was a marriage by *confarreation*.

Let me now examine the cover of the sarcophagus.†

On the corners are two heads, in the manner in which Janus is commonly represented Between these heads is a bas-relief,

* Laws of the XII. Tables, tab. 6. law 4. † See plate XI.

in the middle of which are three figures, standing under a canopy, viz. a man between two women. By the character of the head, the man seems to be Jupiter, and the women goddesses: one of them is distinguished by a bird, perhaps Juno; and the other by a dog, perhaps Diana. At their sides are Castor and Pollux, with their horses. On the right hand of these figures is a *quadriga*, spurred on by a *Victory*, scrambling up a hill; it seems to overturn a figure, representing perhaps *Time*. And on the left we see a *biga*, with the horses spent and fallen down: and a *Victory* or Genius spreading out a cloth to cover them.

Whether this bas-relief is intended to represent the birth and death of man, or to express *Time*, and the rising and setting of the sun and moon, or what else is meant by it, I shall leave to others to determine. The ancients, indeed, gave four horses to the sun, and two to the moon.—

"Quadrijugis et Phœbus equis et Delia bigis."*

* Manil. l. 5. v. 8.

APPENDIX. No. IV.

PRÆNESTE.*

Præneste, or *Palestrina* as named by the moderns, about twenty-two miles south-east of Rome, is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. Its situation is very advantageous. On the top of the hill was a castle, or *arx*; on the face of the hill, cut into terraces, was the temple of *Fortune*; and below the temple, on the plain, was the city. But few are the remains either of the castle or city. The present city of Palestrina, being the see of a cardinal-bishop, is built within the precincts, and on the ruins of the temple.

The cool situation of *Præneste*, as well as its convenient distance from Rome, could not but engage many of the Romans to retire to it in the hot season.—"Et æstivæ Præneste deliciæ."†—Here, indeed we find Horace studying the works of the immortal Homer; from whom he says he reaped more useful instruction, than from the writings of the most celebrated philosophers:—

"Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi:
Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit."‡

* See page 59. † Florus, l. 1. c. 11. ‡ Hor. l. 1. epist. 2.

Præneste, from being a colony, was made a municipal town by Tiberius, in gratitude for having there recovered his health, after a dangerous indisposition.* A municipium.

Præneste and Tivoli were among the privileged cities to which a Roman, accused capitally, might with safety retire in voluntary exile, provided he did so before judgment was completely pronounced against him by the people.† These cities of refuge were all in the neighbourhood of Rome, which made Ovid bitterly complain of the distance, viz. to Pontus, to which Augustus banished him:— A city of refuge.

"Quid referam veteres Romanæ gentis, apud quos
Exulibus tellus ultima Tibur erat?"‡

The ancients observing the vicissitudes of human affairs, supposed that some deity presided over the world, who disposed of all things at pleasure. This divinity was by the Greeks called Τυχη, and by the Romans *Fortuna*. Many temples were dedicated to this capricious goddess; but that of Præneste was the most celebrated, and rich by the donations of her devotees.—"Nusquam se fortunatiorem quam Præneste vidisse Fortunam"§—was the expression of Carneades, the Athenian philosopher, who had visited this temple. Temple of Fortune.

To trace the origin and progress of this temple of Fortune would be a fruitless attempt. Simple, no doubt, in its be-

* A. Gellii Noctes Atticæ, l. 16. c. 13.
† Polybius, l. 6. c. 3
‡ Ex Ponto, l. 1. eleg. 3. v. 81.
§ Cic. de Divinatione, l. 2.

ginning, it became at last one of the most magnificent buildings of antiquity. It resembled a city rather than a temple. We may easily judge of its grandeur from its present ruins. We may yet trace its precincts, as well as the streets, and some parts of the buildings of which it was composed.

L. Sylla having taken Præneste, and defeated young Marius, he assumed the name of Felix, or the fortunate; * and calling himself the *son of Fortune*, he increased the number of her priests. He greatly embellished the temple. He caused a sun dial to be erected between the Æmilian and Fulvian basilic. But his most remarkable addition was the mosaic pavement, mentioned by Pliny,†—"Lithostrata quidem cœptavere jam sub Sylla, parvulis certe crustis, extat hodieque, quod in Fortunæ delubro Præneste fecit."

The first buildings here were surely all consecrated to *Fortune*: others, however, were afterwards erected to different deities, and for various purposes. Thus the temple of Serapis, and the Faustinian school, were both built at the expense of C. Valerius Hermaiscus, as appears from this inscription found there.—

DOMUS . C. VALERI . HERMAISCI .
TEMPLUM . SERAPIS . SCHOLA
FAUSTINIANA . FECIT . C.
VALERIUS . HERMAISCUS . DEDIC . ID.

* "Unus hominum ad hoc ævi, *Felicis* sibi cognomen asseruit L. Sylla, civili nempe sanguine, ac patriæ oppugnatione adoptatus."—Pliny, l. 7. c. 43.

† L. 36. c. 25.

DEC . BARBARO
ET . REGULO . COS.*

Cicero,† laughing at the superstition of the *Sors Prænestina*, mentions the antiquity and beauty of this temple, the deities together with Fortune worshipped in it, and the manner of consulting the *Sortes*.

The temple seems to have consisted properly of two parts, *delubra*, *ædes*, which I shall call, though perhaps improperly, chapels. In these *Fortune* was worshipped under different names. In the highest one she was called *Fortuna Prænestina*, and in the other *Fortuna Primigenia*. Probably she was represented in the first with the *Sortes*; but in the second she held a young Jupiter and Juno in her arms, whom she is supposed to have nursed.

Pietro da Cortona, the celebrated painter and architect, has given a perspective view, plan and elevation of this temple, but in which there are many mistakes. An ingenious and accurate artist, I think, might still make out a pretty exact plan, but not an elevation of it.—Kirker, Suaresio, Volpi, &c. have attempted to describe it, but Mgr. Cecconi‡ has done it with most care.

* Cecconi Stor. di Palestrina, p. 181.—Barbarus and Regulus were consuls A. D. 157, nineteen years after the death of Hadrian.

† De Divin. l. 2.

‡ Storia di Palestrina città del prisco Lazio, scritta da Leonardo Cecconi, Vescovo di Montalto. Ascoli, 1756.

It was built on the side of the mountain, which had been cut down in different places to render the temple more noble and venerable. It may be divided into three stories or stages. On the lowest was a large cistern, or bason, towards the west side; its remains are to be seen in Prince Barberini's garden. It served, perhaps, for the sacrificers to purify the victims. M. Suaresio makes two cisterns; but there is no vestige of the one towards the east; even remains of some vaulted buildings have been lately discovered, where he supposed this cistern to have been placed.

There were four entries to the temple.* One of them was on the arches of the street called *Aricioni*, and the other, that corresponded to it, was opposite the prince's garden. These led to the lowest division, where stood the cistern, and united in a point that answered to the centre of the whole building.† The third entry was near the gate *del Sole;* and the fourth on the opposite side, which was above the gate of St. Martino. These two entries led up to, and united in that part where the modern piazza is situated. This was the forum of the lower chapel.

To reach the higher chapel, there were two streets, one to the right and the other to the left, which slanted up the hill, and united in a point answering likewise to the centre of the

* Suaresio makes but one gate, and places it where it seems impossible to have been, on account of the ancient buildings which stood there.

† This is now the garden of Petrini.

temple, above the three great arches which still remain. It has been supposed that a great lantern, to advertise sailors to worship *Fortune*, was suspended under one of these arches:

"Te dominam æquoris."*

But I cannot think that any light placed there could be seen at sea.—These streets led to a portico supported by columns,† and passing near the sun dial, conducted to a large forum, on which stood the higher chapel.

There are few remains of this part of the building. I find, indeed, that the two sides were ornamented with great arches, enriched with columns. The building terminated in a semi-circular form,‡ along which ran a noble base; and on this base were raised columns, as the last ornament of the temple. The view of the whole, from the plain, must have been magnificent.

The remains of the lower chapel are to be seen near the present seminary.§ It was decorated on the side towards the forum with four columns, whose capitals were cut into foliages, different from any of the known orders of architecture. Cardinal de Polignac, it is said, used to call them the Tiburtine order.—To the west of this chapel, there was a court richly ornamented with columns and arches. In one of these

* Horace, l. 1. od. 35.—Here the poet addresses himself to Fortune at Antium.

† The modern street is called from hence—*di Colonnara*.

‡ This is now the Barberini palace.

§ Formerly the Bishop's palace.

arches we find a gate, which perhaps led to the lodgings of the priests. From this court there was also an entry to the chapel.

The form of this chapel was almost square. The inmost part of it was a sort of tribune with three niches. There are at the sides large marble bases, which perhaps served for tables, on which were placed the offerings, or the sacred vessels. It was paved with the celebrated mosaic I am now to mention.

A mosaic pavement.

Long covered over with rubbish, and in danger of being destroyed by the humidity of the place, this mosaic was discovered in the time of Cardinal Francis Barberini, who caused it to be removed to his palace on the summit of the temple, and where it is now carefully preserved. It is about eighteen feet long, and fourteen feet broad. The fragments of marble, of which the ground and greatest part is composed, are about a quarter of an inch square; but those which form the figures are much smaller. Great must have been the labour to collect such a number of various coloured marbles, and to have executed this pavement.

The Romans gave different names to that work which we call mosaic, viz. *mosibum, museum, musivum.* Hence the artists who wrought in it were called, in a law of Constantine,* *musivarii.*

* Cod. Theod. l. 13. tit. 4.—But in l. x. tit. 64. Cod. Justin. they are named *musearii.*

Some have ascribed the origin of this art to the Hetruscans, but others to the Persians. That mosaic work was used in Persia in the time of Ahasuerus, or Artaxerxes, appears from the first book of Esther.* It seems to have been carried from Persia into Assyria, from thence into Greece, and, some ages after, the Romans introduced it into Italy, with the other Grecian arts.

The mosaic at Præneste seems to have been executed by a Grecian artist, because the names of the animals represented in it are writ in Greek characters. By their form, particularly the *epsilon* and the *sigma*, they are judged to be rather of the second century than older. But, whether it proceeded from the ignorance of the original artist, or from the carelessness of those who removed it to the Barberini palace, several of the characters seem to be misplaced, whereby the explanation of the names is rendered more difficult and uncertain. The architecture, as well as the manner of designing the figures, is much in the Chinese taste. Here are seen, in different colours, soldiers with their shields, priests in procession, hunters, fishers, animals, birds, trees, plants, rivers, mountains, vallies, temples, porticoes, houses, tents, &c.

This singular monument surely deserves the attention both of the antiquary and artist. It may throw some light on the customs and manners of the Egyptians. Various explanations have, indeed, been given of it.

* Chap. 1. v. 6.

F. Kirker* seems to have been one of the first who attempted to explain it. He observes that the ancients ascribed both *good* and *evil* to Fortune. He therefore divides the mosaic into three parts. In the first, he supposes the *evils*, occasioned by *adverse Fortune*, to be represented:—in the second, the sacrifices offered to render her propitious: and, in the last, the solemnities used in thanking her for favours received. The first is expressed by hunting the beasts, birds, serpents, and noxious animals that infested the mountains and vallies. The different temples, in the second part, he supposes to belong to Hercules, Juno, Venus, Diana, and Serapis, to whom it was usual to sacrifice, before they consulted the *Fortuna Prænestina*. The two women standing in the temple, he takes to be the *Sortes Prænestinæ*, who are addressed by a sailor, under the figure of Neptune. *Good Fortune*, he thinks, is pointed out, in the last part, by the soldiers with palms in their hands, by the sailors spreading their sails, by the people banqueting, and by the priests, wearing crowns, attended with music, carrying a torch in solemn procession.—Such is the metaphysical interpretation of Kirker.

The ingenious Cardinal de Polignac† has given, however, a very different explanation of this mosaic. He supposes that it was the mosaic executed by order of Sylla, who, affecting the power and prosperity of Alexander the Great, desired to express that hero's expedition to the temple of Jupiter

* In veter. Latio. † It is published, but without his name, at the bottom of the print of this mosaic, engraved by order of Cardinal Francis Barberini the younger.—See Cecconi, l. 1. c. 4. p. 48.

Hammon. The conqueror went to consult the oracle, whether the gods intended to give him the empire of the world.* The Cardinal reckons that the rugged mountains, inhabited by wild beasts, pursued by hunters, represents the higher Egypt. The river, in the second part, he takes to be the Nile, and the buildings there denote the cities of Heliopolis with its obelisks, and Memphis with its mausoleums. In the lower part is Alexander with his attendants, under a royal tent, and Fortune presenting him a palm. The person in the boat, attended with spearmen, seems to be Mazaces, or Astaces, Darius's prætor, who commanded at Memphis. He came to beg peace of Alexander, and offered him eight hundred talents, with all the royal furniture. The procession, with Anubis on an altar, and Ibis on a spear, points out the Egyptians rejoicing at their being delivered from the Persian government.

The scorpions on the shields of the soldiers who attended Alexander, the cardinal thinks, add weight to his explanation. These animals, very frequent in Egypt, are so venomous there that their bite is reckoned immediate death. Superstition believed, that to carry about the figure of the animal was an antidote to his poison; the soldiers, therefore, as a defence against them, had their figures engraved on their shields. But this observation is of little force, for the scorpion might have been only the distinctive mark of a particular Roman legion or cohort.†

* Q. Curtius, l. 4. c. 31. ed. Delph. 4to.—"An totius orbis imperium fatis sibi destinaret pater?"

† Veg. de Re Milit. l. 2. c. 18.

Whatever difficulty may attend the subject of this mosaic, the scene evidently lies in Egypt; and the obelisks, mausoleums, and animals peculiar to that country and Ethiopia, are circumstances favourable to Polignac's interpretation. But the officers and soldiers dressed in the Roman, and not in the Macedonian manner, induces me to think that it relates to some Roman story.

The learned abbé Barthelemy,* persuaded that this mosaic is connected with Roman history, has applied it to Hadrian: an emperor who visited the greatest part of the Roman empire, and particularly Egypt. Had the mosaic executed in the temple of Fortune, by order of Sylla, expressed any particular subject, Pliny would naturally have mentioned it. That mosaic, we may therefore reasonably suppose, was only a pavement, of various coloured stones, divided into compartments. Besides, I do not see any connection between an Egyptian festival and either Fortune or Sylla, who does not appear ever to have been in that country. And, it may be asked; pray, what resemblance is there between the history of the latter and that of Alexander the Great?

It is no doubt difficult to distinguish, with certainty, the different buildings erected within the precincts of the temple of Fortune. Several pieces of mosaic have been found among these ruins; particularly the rape of Europa, preserved in the Barberini palace at Rome. But it is highly probable that the

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres de Paris, Tom. 53. in 12mo.

mosaic in question was not the pavement of the temple of Fortune mentioned by Pliny, but of that of Serapis, built by C. Valerius Hermaiscus. Perhaps, having attended Hadrian in his progress through Egypt, he desired to preserve this memorial of it, and of the emperor, who had bestowed particular marks of favour on that country; from which he brought many statues and curiosities, to ornament his villa at Tivoli. And what decoration could be more proper for the temple of Serapis, than the representation of an Egyptian festival?

This picture is not a general view of Egypt, but of the island of Elephantine,* near to Syene,† below the Cataracts. According to Tacitus,‡ they were the boundaries, in those parts, of the Roman empire,—"claustra Romani imperii,"— and separated it from Ethiopia. They were inhabited both by Egyptians and Ethiopians, and decorated with temples. In the island of Elephantine was the temple of *Cnuphis* and a *Nilometer*. This Nilometer§ was a well, on the banks of the Nile, on the inside of which were engraved several lines, to denote the several increases of the river. Cnuphis, Cneph, Neph, Anubis, Ibis, seem to have been one and the same deity, or a person remarkable for observing the rise of the Nile. He was represented under various emblematical characters engraved on the Nilometer, viz. a serpent with a lion's

* Now named Geziret-el-sag, or the flowery island.

† Now called Assuan, or Essuen. ‡ Ann. l. 2. c. 61.

§ Strabo, l. 17.—The temple of Cnuphis still exists, and is very little injured. By an observation, if accurate, made here, by Mr. Bruce of Kinnaird, its north latitude is 24° 45′.—Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, Vol. 1. p. 160.

head; a serpent with a hawk's head; a dog, &c.* Now, in this mosaic, we may trace the temple of Cnuphis, and the well or Nilometer. The temple is that building, in which stand the two women, addressed by a sailor; and near to it is the Nilometer.

Hadrian is the principal personage under the tent; to whom a woman presents a crown with her right hand, and holds a palm in her left. She is neither Fortune nor a priestess, for the Egyptians had none; but a genius personating the island of Elephantine, who testifies the gratitude of the inhabitants, as the whole of the scene does, to the emperor, for having honoured them with his visit. And over the gate of a building, ornamented with four Egyptian statues, I observed a spread-eagle, the emblem of the Roman empire.

Having thus given a probable account of the subject of this mosaic, I shall not attempt to give a particular description of each figure, animal, bird, plant, or building expressed in it. They are sufficiently explained either in the print, or in M. Barthelemy's memoir.

* The dog was the emblem of the dog-star, which becomes visible in Egypt in the month of July, about the time when, it is agreed by all writers, the Nile generally begins to overflow its banks. When the river hath overflowed its banks, it drives all the serpents before it out of their lurking places; so the hawks, at the same season, annually return into Egypt in quest of their prey: and as the sun, in the month of July, enters the constellation of the Lion, this was another proper symbol to denote the serpents quitting their holes, in consequence of the increase of the Nile.

APPENDIX. No. V.

ALBANO, AND ITS ENVIRONS.

Albano, fourteen miles from Rome, on the Via Appia, is the see of one of the six cardinal bishops. It is situated between Castel Gandolfo and Aricia, now called *La Ricia*. As it stands on the Alban territory, some writers, from its name, have supposed it to be the ancient city of *Alba Longa*, the mother of Rome; but this is a mistake, as I shall soon satisfy the reader.

The situation of Albano, its moderate height above the level of the plain, its fine air, its shady walks, and beautiful views of Rome, the Campagnia, and the sea, cannot but make it a favourite retreat of the Romans, during the spring and autumnal seasons, where many rusticate.

This city is built on the ruins of Pompey's villa, named *Albanum Pompeii*, which, after the murder and forfeiture of that illustrious man, was sold by public auction, and purchased by Mark Antony. He was the only person who had the assurance to offer for it, for which Cicero* justly upbraided him; Albanum Pompeii.

* In M. Antonium Philippica 2.

because it was then reckoned infamous, on such occasions, to deprive innocent heirs of the property of their unfortunate families. With what strong colouring does the orator paint the debaucheries of Antony at this villa. Many of its ruins are still to be seen, particularly in the villa Paolucci, and at the church of St. Peter; which last are conjectured to have been baths.

An amphitheatre, a reservoir, and prætorian camp.

At the abbey of St. Paul's, I observed considerable remains of an amphitheatre, a reservoir for water, and a prætorian camp. Perhaps these were erected by Domitian. But it is unnecessary for me to describe them, because they have been published by Piranesi,* to whose plates I beg leave to refer,

The Capuchins.

Above St. Paul's, on the borders of the lake, is the convent of the Capuchins: from different stations of whose gardens are to be seen various delightful romantic views. Indeed here, and in this part of the country in general, landscape painters find the most captivating scenes to engage their talents. But I shall not attempt to describe with my pen beauties which even the pencil of the artist can imperfectly delineate.

A mausoleum.

Before I entered the Roman gate of Albano, I observed, on the left hand of the Appian road, the remains of a magnificent mausoleum. It is published by Piranesi.† It had been three stories high, incrusted with marble, and each story ornamented with columns, no doubt of different orders. Though robbed

* Antichita d'Albano. † Ib. page 7. tav. 4.

of these columns, and the incrustation, yet the belts or *præcinctiones* of these stories, and the marble blocks to which they were fixed still remain, and point out its former state.

Another mausoleum.

Without the other gate of Albano, on the side of the Appian road, at the church called the *Madonna della Stella*, I saw another remarkable sepulchral monument. On a high square base are placed five round pyramids or towers, viz., one on the centre, and one on each of the square corners. Two of these pyramids are entire, and the other three, though defaced, are still very visible. This monument is likewise published by Piranesi.*

One of these mausoleums is commonly reckoned to be that of Pompey, and the other of the Horatii and the Curiatii.

As no inscriptions remain on either of these monuments I cannot ascertain to whom they belonged. Antiquaries, I know, generally reckon that one of these two mausoleums was that of the great Pompey, whose ashes Cornelia, according to Plutarch,† brought from Egypt, where he was murdered, and deposited at his villa near Alba. Plutarch is the only historian who mentions this; whereas Strabo,‡ Pliny,§ and Dio Cassius || affirm, that Pompey was buried on *Mons Casius*, in Egypt. His body had been burnt by his freedman Philip: but it is not probable that Cornelia, who fled before her husband was murdered, and long obliged to conceal herself before she was permitted to return to Rome, could have received from Philip the ashes of his master, and carried them about

* Antichita d'Albano, page 8. tav. 5. and 6. † Life of Pompey.

‡ Lib. 16. § Lib. 5. c. 12.—His words are—"Casius mons delubrum Jovis Casii, *tumulus Magni Pompeii*. || Lib. 42.

with her in her peregrinations. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that Cornelia, after the death of Pompey, and his property confiscated, could have erected a sumptuous monument to his memory. If therefore either of these sepulchres belonged to Pompey, it must have been built by himself in his prosperity; and in that case I should, from the style of architecture, reckon it to be the one at the Roman gate, rather than that at the Stella, which seems to be of much greater antiquity. The great modern Savelli family, now extinct, but formerly lords of Albano, had indeed caused an inscription* to be placed on this singular monument, which names it that of the Horatii and Curiatii; but there is no authority for having done so. On the contrary, the five brothers, as I observed, † were buried where they fell. This monument somewhat resembles that very ancient one at Clusium, erected for Porsena, King of Hetruria, described by Pliny. ‡ Had an honorary monument been erected for the five champions, of which there is no mention, it would

* The modern inscription on the tomb at the Stella, said to be that of the Horatii and Curiatii;—

Hospes
Dignare memoria ossa quæ calcas
Hic cæsis Curiatiis unicus ex Horatiis superstes
Romam Albæ præfecit
Sabelli
Quibus et patria et dominium unam utramque fecit
Ambarum gloriæ consulentes
Pyramides latitantes
Elogio prætereuntibus indicarunt.

† See page 110.

‡ Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 13.

naturally have been placed on the site of *Alba Longa*, which this is not.

Via Appia.

Between the Stella and La Ricia there is a remarkable part of the *Via Appia*, which deserves the attention of the curious. It is a long and vast mole or levé, carried across the vale of La Ricia, to facilitate the passage. Arches are constructed at certain distances, to carry off the water that may collect there. This mole remains a monument of Roman grandeur, and gives an high idea of the expense they bestowed on their consular roads. To see it to advantage, it is necessary to go down to the vale, for its sides are now so covered with trees and shrubs, that one may travel along it without perceiving its greatness. Such had happened even to the ingenious Piranesi, to whom, on publishing his elegant work on Albano, I observed that he had taken no notice of this part of the Via Appia: he promised to supply this neglect, but which, as far as I know, has not been done. The fertile vale of La Ricia had been formerly a lake. It was supplied with water from the lake of Nemi; but the water is now carried off by a rivulet, that runs through the vale and turns a mill.

Vale of La Ricia.

Road to Castel Gandolfo.

The delightful shady road from Albano to Castel Gandolfo, planted with large evergreen oaks, is called the *lower gallery*; and the road from Castel Gandolfo, along the banks of the lake, to the Capuchins, the *upper gallery*. How often have I strolled along these roads, wrapped in admiration at the beautiful scenery, which on every side captivated the eye!

Domitian's villa.

Domitian, before he succeeded to the empire, resided much at Albano. Besides the use he may have made of Pompey's villa, he extended his own from Castel Gandolfo to the convent of the Capuchins, and down to the lake on one side, and the plain on the other. In the modern villa Barberini,* the remains of two extensive *cryptæ*, or galleries, are to be seen: they now serve for terraces, and are a proof of its former magnificence. He embellished the steep banks of the lake with curious buildings; among others with two grottoes, or *nymphea*, of which Piranesi has given plans and views.† They are the more curious, because few nymphea‡ have been hitherto discovered. They seem to have been natural grottoes, but which Domitian had improved by art; one of them is very beautiful. Attached to Minerva, he established, at Albano, a college of priests for the service of that deity, and there celebrated her festivals called *quinquatria*, with huntings, plays, and oratorial and poetical compositions.‡

Two cryptæ.

Two nymphea.

Lake of Albano.

The form of this lake is an irregular ellipsis, surrounded with very high banks, except towards Marino, where they are lower. To walk round the top of its crater is generally computed to be about eight miles, and round the edges of the

* It stands, according to some antiquaries, on the site of the villa of the factious Clodius, killed by Milo.

† Antichita d'Albano. ‡ See page 232.

‡ "Celebrabat in Albano quotannis quinquatria Minervæ, cui collegium constituerat: ex quo sorte ducti magisterio, fungerentur, ederentque eximias venationes et scenicos ludos, superque oratorum ac poetarum certamina."—Suet. V. Domitiani, c. 4.

water four miles. Its depth is unequal; in some parts the depth is very great, particularly under Palazzuolo. Among a variety of fishes found in this lake, there are eels of a vast size, and which are much esteemed by the luxurious.

Formerly a volcano.

From sand, stones, lava, and other minerals, evidently volcanic productions, found here * and in its neighbourhood, naturalists have concluded that this lake, as well as that of Nemi, † called the *Speculum Dianæ*, have been the mouths of volcanoes, which sunk these parts of the *Mons Albanus*. If this is so, these eruptions must have happened long prior to the building of Alba Longa, and before the time of historical records, or even tradition.

Outlet of the lake.

But what chiefly demands the attention of the inquisitive traveller is the subterraneous canal or outlet, that carries off the water of the lake. It begins a little to the south of Castel Gandolfo, and is carried about a mile and a half under the hill of Albano, till the water appears in the plain. Livy,‡ and many of the Roman writers, mention prodigies that happened during the siege of Veii;§ particularly, that the lake of Albano, without any visible cause, overflowed its banks, and inundated the plain, and even threatened Rome itself, The senate therefore sent an embassy to consult the oracle

* See Tour to Italy, by M. De la Condamine:—and Lettres sur la Minéralogie d'Italie, par M. Ferber.

† It is about two miles south of the lake of Albano, and is not one half of the extent of the latter.

‡ Lib. 5. c. 15.

§ See page 35.

Delphi, to know what was to be done to appease the gods. In the mean time the Romans were told by a Veientan soothsayer, who was their prisoner, that Veii could never be taken till the lake of Albano was prevented from overflowing its banks. This prophecy agreeing with the answer afterwards received from the oracle, the Romans immediately set about making the outlet in question, and completed it in the course of a year, viz. in the year of Rome 355. What fiction soever there may be in this account, the canal itself is wonderful, to have been executed at that early period of time. It is still entire, and serves the purpose for which it was intended, And whether we consider the difficulty of executing this vast work, or the expedition with which it was done, or its duration, it is justly an object of admiration. The canal, in general, is five palms and three inches Roman measure broad, and its height from nine to ten palms. Had six men only been employed to cut this narrow canal, and more could not have been employed at the same time; that is three men beginning at each extremity, till the six met in the centre, it would have required many years to have accomplished it. But the ingenious Piranesi,* who examined it with much attention, shows that, after tracing the line of the canal above ground, pits and mines were sunk at certain distances from each other, by which many men might have been let down, and wrought at the same time; and by means of these pits draw out the earth and stones from the canal. He discovered some of these pits, and traced the whole as minutely as if he had been the

* See Descrizione e Disegno dell' Emissario del Lago Albano.

overseer of the work. But whatever indulgence he may have given to fancy, his inquiry is very curious. He has given nine plates, with many figures, to explain it, and which will convey a more distinct idea of it than can be done by words. The entry to the canal from the lake, and its issue in the plain, are solidly built, and remain noble specimens of Hetruscan architecture.

From Bianchini's * observations it appears, that the bottom of the lake is on a level with the floor of the Carthusian church, at Dioclesian's baths.† Hence water might have been brought from it to Rome, and there raised to a great height.

Alba Longa.

The fabulous account of the foundation of *Alba*, by Ascanius, the son of Æneas, is mentioned by all the Roman historians, as well as by many of the poets:—

"Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ." ‡

It was the capital of ancient Latium. However, after the celebrated combat of the Horatii and Curiatii,§ which gave the superiority to Rome over Alba, Tullus Hostilius destroyed this very ancient city, and brought the greatest part of its inhabitants to increase the population of Rome. To distinguish this Alba from other cities of the same name, it got the appellation of *Longa*, because it was narrow and long; having been built between the Mons Albanus, now called *Monte Cavo*, and

* Francisci Bianchini Opuscula varia.

† See page 209.

‡ Virg. Æn. l. 1. v. 6.

§ See page 110.

the lake, along the crater of which it had extended a considerable way. Perhaps the centre of Alba Longa was about Palazzuolo, a villa belonging to the Colonna family, and a Franciscan convent.

A sepulchral monument.

Scrambling among the trees and bushes, with which the greatest part of the ground is covered, I observed the foundations of some ancient buildings. Near to the convent, I have just mentioned, there is a remarkable sepulchre, cut on the face of the rock. Uninscribed, I cannot conjecture to whom it belonged. On its centre is a bas relief, but the figures are much defaced, and a sceptre terminated with an eagle: and on each side of the bas-relief there are six Roman *fasces* with the axes, placed like columns. These marks of dignity belonged to the kings, as well as to the consuls. The style of the sculpture is good; and it is published by Piranesi.*

Mons Albanus.

From the east side of the lake, *Mons Albanus* raises its lofty head, and overlooks Latium, and a great extent of country.† This remarkable mountain is often mentioned by the Roman authors. On its summit stood the temple of Jupiter Latialis—

"Et residens celsa Latialis Jupiter Alba."‡

* Antichita d'Albano, pages 6 and 7, tav. 3.—I have in my collection an accurate drawing of this monument.

† The people in this part of the country consider Monté Cavo as a barometer for the weather. When the summit of the mountain is covered with a fog, they say—"Monté Cavo ha il capello, piovera."

‡ Lucanus, lib. 1. v. 198.

By whom it was originally built is uncertain. It seems, however, to have been renewed by Tarquin the Proud, who there instituted the *Feriæ Latinæ;* at which deputies from the different states of Latium assembled annually, and ratified their mutual engagements. A Roman consul always presided at these meetings. An ox was sacrificed to Jupiter, and each deputy carried home with him a part of the victim. During these *Feriæ* all hostilities between any of these states ceased. Such a political institution must have been productive of useful consequences. It was here likewise that the Roman generals, who were refused the honour of the great triumph in Rome, performed the lesser triumph, called an *ovation,* and sacrificed to Jupiter Latialis. But this famous temple, which had been fortified, has long since been destroyed. Indeed, when I first visited the ruins, in the year 1750, I observed a part of its foundations:* but these materials have been since employed to build a small church and convent, for a late established religious order, called the *Passionites,* or the fathers of the passion, who have got possession of this classic ground.

When placed on the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Latialis, I beheld under me the lakes, the woods, the spot where stood the villa of Clodius, I could not but recall to my memory the beautiful apostrophe, which Cicero made to Jupiter, against this turbulent seditious man, whom the orator maintains was justly killed by his client Milo:—" Tuque ex edito isto tuo monte, Latialis sancte Jupiter, cujus ille (Clodius) lacus, nemora,

* Some fragments of these ruins are published by Piranesi—Ant. d'Albano, tav. 1 and 2.

finesque sæpe omni nefario stupro, et scelere macularat; aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti."*

A road. To facilitate the access to this temple, a road was made, paved like that of the Via Appia, and of which I observed considerable remains. The stones so employed are chiefly lava, or volcanic productions.

Rocca di Papa. About half way up the mountain, to the left of the road, there is a village called *Rocca di Papa.* Its situation is singular. Some antiquaries suppose that it is *Fabienses,* mentioned by Pliny,† and others *Forum Populi.*‡ Perhaps it was here that the people assembled and rested, before they proceeded to the temple of Jupiter.

Hannibal's camp. A little above Rocca di Papa, there is a plain called *Hannibal's camp,* which I have formerly mentioned.§ It is here that

Pits for preserving snow. the snow is collected annually for the use of Rome. It is a monopoly that produces a revenue to the Pope. The use of snow or ice to cool liquors, &c. is no doubt, in hot climates, an agreeable luxury. The Romans make much use of it; and perhaps the reader will not be dissatisfied to know the simple manner by which they preserve it. On this dry plain they dig pits, without any building, about fifty feet deep, and twenty-five broad at the top, in the form of a sugar-loaf, or cone. The larger the pit, the snow, no doubt, will preserve the better. About three feet from the bottom they commonly

* Cic. pro Milone. † Lib. 3. c. 5. ‡ Cluver. Ital. Ant.

§ See page 46.

fix a wooden grate, which serves for a drain, if any of the snow should happen to melt, which otherwise would stagnate, and hasten the dissolution of the rest. The pit thus formed, and lined with prunings of trees and straw, is filled with snow, which is beat down as hard as possible, till it becomes a solid body. It is afterwards covered with more prunings of trees, and a roof raised in form of a low cone, well thatched over with straw. A door is left at the side, covered likewise with straw, by which men enter and cut out the ice, for such it becomes, with a mattock. A row of tall shady trees may be planted round the pit, to protect it the better from the sun. The quantity daily demanded is carried to Rome, in the night time, in carts well covered with straw. It is found by experience that snow, thus pressed down, is not only colder, but preserves longer than cakes of ice taken from ponds or ditches.

APPENDIX. No. VI.

HERCULANEUM.*

SIR, Naples, April 18th, 1750.

I SHOULD not have ventured to send you the following account of *Herculaneum*, had I not known your love for antiquities, and the desire you have to be informed of the present state of that discovery: especially as so many false and ridiculous relations have been given of it. But as I have had opportunities of examining this celebrated place several times, during the two months I have spent in this country, you may depend on my exactness. To describe it, Sir, as it ought, would require one of your happy turn, who examines every

* Though this letter, written to the Author's father, the late William Lumisden, Esq. has no relation to the Antiquities of Rome; yet as the subject is interesting to the curious, and as it gives a distinct though short account of the discovery of *Herculaneum*, he hopes he will be pardoned for giving it a place in this Appendix. He is the rather induced to do so, because it was imperfectly published in some periodical papers, and particularly with the translation of Bellicard's Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum, printed at London, 1753. Much, no doubt, has been published on the Herculaneum, since this letter was written; but as far as it goes, he flatters himself, it will be found still to be accurate.

thing with such taste, and whose ideas of what you do examine are never imperfect.

Herculaneum was a city of vast antiquity, dedicated to, or as some writers say, founded by Hercules. This heroic divinity was much esteemed all over the then known world. Temples and altars were every where erected to him: witness the famous temple of Cadiz, built by the Tyrians,—"extra Herculis columnas in Gadibus,"*—the boundary of his expeditions to the west. The Carthaginians offered him human sacrifices; and the Romans made vows to, and consulted him in their greatest enterprizes.

This city stood where now stands the royal village of Portici, washed by the sea, four miles from Naples, and about three from the top of Vesuvius. It seems, as likewise *Pompeia*†

* The two promontories, at the entry of the Straits, the one in Europe and the other in Africa, were called by geographers *Hercules's Pillars.* The former, *Calpé,* is Gibraltar in Europe, and the latter, *Abila,* is Ceuta in Africa. The fabulous tradition of the old Spaniards was, that these mountains were cut asunder by Hercules, by which means the Atlantic ocean rushed in, and formed the Mediterranean sea.—"Abila Africæ, Europæ Calpé, laborum Herculis metæ. Quam ob causam indigenæ columnas ejus Dei vocant, creduntque per fossas exclusa antea admisisse maria, et rerum naturæ mutasse faciem." Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 3. proem.—But besides these fictitious pillars, the temple of Hercules at Cadiz was ornamented with real columns of metal, and covered with inscriptions, as mentioned by Philostratus, in his Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, l. 5. c. 1. Indeed the expression of Pliny, l. 2. c. 107,—"ab Indiâ ad Herculis columnas Gadibus sacratas,"—means these real columns.

† *Pompeia* stood on the banks of the Sarno, near to the place called *Torre dell' Annonciata,* ten or eleven miles from Portici.

and *Retina*,* to have been buried in the great eruption of that mountain, in the time of the emperor Titus, by which Pliny the elder was suffocated.†

This was not the first eruption of Vesuvius. Diodorus Siculus,‡ cotemporary with Augustus, and consequently older than Pliny, says that the eruptions of that mountain were as old as the fabulous ages. Is it not, therefore, surprising that this should not have been mentioned by Pliny, the great historian of nature? But perhaps that part of his work is lost. Although the eruptions prior to Pliny had not been recorded by any author, yet their effects were visibly traced, in digging at the foot of the mountain, in the year 1689. Observations on this excavation have been published by the learned Bianchini.§ As a further proof of the antiquity of these eruptions, we have only to remark that the streets of Herculaneum were paved with lava, or basalte, which surely had been formerly thrown out from Vesuvius. But what are our oldest records compared with the lasting monuments of nature?

The city is between seventy or eighty feet below the present

* *Retina* or *Resina*, was probably a country seat, or small village near to Herculaneum. † Plin. Secund. l. 6. ep. 16.

‡ Hist. l. 5.—"Herculis deinde a Tiburi profectus, per littus Italiæ ad Cumeum venit campum: in quo tradunt fuisse homines admodum fortes, et ob eorum scelera gigantes appellatos. Campus quoque ipse dictus Phlegræus, a colle qui olim plurimum *ignis* instar Ethnæ Siculi evomens, nunc Vesuvius vocatur, multa servans ignis antiqui vestigia."

§ La Storia universale provata con Monumenti, &c. Roma, 1747, p. 246.

surface of the ground. The matter with which it is covered is not every where the same. In some places it is a sort of burnt dry earth, like ashes; in others, a sort of lime and hard cement; and elsewhere, it is covered with that vitrified matter which the Neapolitans call *lava*, composed of sulphur stones, and metallic substances, which Vesuvius throws out in its eruptions. This lava, whilst it preserved its fluidity, ran like a river towards the sea: but as soon as it cooled it subsided, and became a solid substance, like a dark blue marble, and of which I have seen tables, snuff-boxes, and many trinkets. It is, therefore, no wonder that this river should have penetrated into every cavity it met with in its course, so we find that part of the city over which it ran full of it.

Nothing is more difficult than to explain this surprising effect. The learned are much divided in their opinions concerning it. The most general opinion is, that the mountain first threw out such a quantity of cinders as covered the city, and then the sea penetrating into the bottom of the volcano was afterwards vomited out, and in its course pushed the cinders earth, &c. into the houses. These eruptions are probably produced from marcasites, or pyrites, and sulphureous and bituminous substances mixed together in the earth, and humected by water. Many authors assert, that Vesuvius in its eruptions throws out more water than fire. In the eruption of December 10th, 1631, it is said that the harbour of Naples was, for a moment quite emptied, and that all sorts of shell-fishes were mixed with the lava that came from the mountain. Pliny the younger, giving Tacitus an account of the death of his uncle,

says that the sea seemed to go back.* The water entering the volcano, probably gave rise to this observation. Perhaps, too, the eruption was attended by an earthquake, which may have assisted to swallow up the city. But to return.

Herculaneum lay thus buried from the year 79 to the 1739. The prince of Elbeuf, indeed, in the year 1711, building a house near to Portici, and digging for a well, found some pieces of wrought marble; and afterwards discovered a temple of a round figure, the general form of those dedicated to Bacchus, adorned with pillars of yellow marble, and some fine statues: viz. a Hercules, a Cleopatra, and three elegant vestals, which he sent to Vienna to Prince Eugene of Savoy. The vestals are now at Dresden, in the noble collection of the elector of Saxony. But the discovery went no further; nor did they suspect that this was part of Herculaneum.

It was in the beginning of the 1739 that, digging for another well, some more marble was found. And being ordered by the king of Naples to dig towards the grotto, formerly discovered by Elbeuf, the workmen found two consular statues of marble, one of which was Augustus; afterwards some brick pillars painted with different colours. And continuing the search, they fell on the theatre, which was built according to the rules of Vitruvius. It consisted of eighteen seats for the spectators, and was incrusted with marble, and beautified with pillars,

* "Præterea mare in se resorberi, et tremore terræ, quasi repelli videbamus. Certe processerat litus, multaque animalia maris siccis arenis detinebat." Lib. 6. ep. 20.

statues, and paintings. Nor is it strange to find a theatre in a country once inhabited by the *Osci*, a people remarkable for having invented those licentious performances called the *Oscenian comedy*, and *Fescenine verses*.

I shall not waste time in describing the many statues already found here. I cannot, however, omit mentioning an equestrian one of marble, with the following inscription on its pedestal: an inscription which leaves no doubt to whom it belonged, and that this was the ancient city of Herculaneum.

M . NONIO . M . F .
BALBO .
PR . PRO . COS .
HERCULANENSES.

Some connoisseurs say that this statue is preferable, in point of execution, to the so justly celebrated one at the Capitol, of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, of Corinthian brass. The former is indeed more ancient, and perhaps the work of a more eminent master: but,—

"Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites."

This statue of Balbus, and another of his father, were found in the portico of the *forum*, or *chalcidicum*, supposed to be the place where the courts of justice or public assemblies were held. It seems to have been a rectangular building, surrounded with a peristyle, ornamented with columns, statues, and paintings.

Satisfied that they had at last discovered Herculaneum, they continued to work on, and near the theatre they found another temple dedicated to Hercules. It has been disputed if the ancients used to build temples so near their theatres. The one here found is a proof of the affirmative; and indeed altars have been erected within theatres themselves. Sacrifices preceded their games and plays, which were connected with, and made part of their religious ceremonies. Here were got small statues of several deities, particularly one of Hercules, of brass, and all the instruments proper for sacrifice.

The walls of this temple were painted in different compartments, representing combats of wild beasts, real and imaginary animals, heads of Medusa, landscapes, views of houses, and architecture of various kinds. But what surprise every one, being of much value in themselves, are the historical paintings.

One represents a naked Theseus, with a club in his hand, a ring on his finger, and the *chlamys*, a sort of scarf, hanging at his shoulders. Between his legs lies the Minotaur naked; whose body is of a human figure, but his head is horned like a bull: the head is intirely seen, but the body goes back in a straight line, and is finely foreshortened. The hero is surrounded with three boys; two of whom kiss his hands, and the third embraces his left arm. A virgin modestly touches the club, who perhaps is Ariadne, or Phædra. In the air is seen another figure, which denotes victory; and we can also observe the volutes of the pillars that adorn the labyrinth.

In the second we see a woman sitting, crowned with flowers, at her left side is a basket of fruits, and at her right a young Faunus playing on a pipe. Opposite to the woman is a naked man, with a black beard, with bow, quiver and club. Behind him is another woman, who seems to speak to the first; and below is a child sucking a deer. The subject of this picture is probably the birth of Telephus, the son of Hercules and Augea. The sitting woman representing Augea, the naked man Hercules, and the child Telephus, who was said to be miraculously nursed by a deer.

A third represents Chiron, under the figure of the centaur, teaching young Achilles music.

A fourth is Mercury giving Bacchus to the nurse.—But it would be tedious to describe all the pictures.

I do not pretend that all the paintings here found are equally good: some of them are very bad; but surely those I have mentioned, and several others have great merit, whether we consider the judicious composition, the accurate contour, or fine colouring. And if such is the value of these pictures, what must have been the works of Apelles, and the other masters of Greece, so renowned in story? For though the Romans, fond of the gulf of Naples, may have built magnificent villas along that coast, yet we cannot suppose that they empoyed any of the painters celebrated by the ancients to ornament them. Besides, Pliny* regrets that the art of painting

* "Hactenus dictum sit de dignitate artis morientis." Nat. Hist. l. 35. c. 5.

had greatly declined in his time. It would therefore be unjust, from these paintings only, to decide the controversy between the ancients and the moderns on this head. But how can we doubt of the excellence of Grecian painting, since the statues still preserved are a demonstration of their superior knowledge in designing elegant nature ?

Although buried near 1700 years, the colouring is as fresh as if painted a few years ago. But perhaps this is partly owing to the external air having been so effectually excluded. The king has caused the pictures to be cut off the walls, and put in frames. I must observe that the buildings in which these pictures, &c. were preserved, were filled up with earth and ashes; for where the lava ran, nothing could resist its heat.

Cicero* and Pliny† inform us, that the ancient painters used only four colours: these were white, black, yellow, and red. But in the paintings discovered in Herculaneum we find both blue and green. Perhaps we ought not to interpret too strictly these authors; and suppose that, by their naming these four colours, they excluded all others. Indeed had they mentioned *blue*, as one of the four colours, we should have been

* In Bruto, No. 70.—" Similis in pictura ratio est, in qua Zeuxim et Polygnotum, et Timantem, et eorum qui non sunt usi plusquam quatuor coloribus, formas & lineamenta laudamus. At in Œtione, Nicomacho, Protogene, Apelle, jam perfecta sunt omnia, et nescio an reliquis omnibus idem eveniat. Nihil est enim simul et inventum et perfectum."

† Lib. 35. c. 7.—" Quatuor coloribus solis immortalia illa opera fecere."

the less surprised, since we are told, that all objects may be represented by the mixure of three colours, viz. yellow, red, and blue. Thus yellow and red produce orange, red and blue produce purple and violet, blue and yellow produce green. the mixture of these material colours, used by painters, produce black; although the primitive colours in a prism produce the contrary, namely, white.

It has been said too that the ancients did not understand perspective; but the above paintings are a clear evidence to the contrary. Vitruvius and Pliny use the word *mensura* for what we call perspective. For what else can mean that passage of Pliny,* where mentioning the great candour, as well as wonderful abilities of Apelles, he says—"non cedebat Amphioni de dispositione, Asclepiodore de *mensuris*, hoc est, quanto quid a quo distare deberet?"

Near a kin to perspective is the *chiaro oscuro*, that magic effect of painting. Even this was not unknown to the ancients. it was invented by Zeuxis, as Quintilian tells us, † who at the same time informs us, that Parrhasius excelled in correct drawing, and in the delicacy of outline:—"Quorum prior luminum umbrarumque invenisse rationem; secundus examinasse subtilius lineas traditur."

Proceeding with the excavation, the workmen entered a street with houses on both sides. Some of them were incrusted

* Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 10.

† Quint. Inst. Orator. l. 12. c. 10.

with marble and richly ornamented, the floors being generally paved with mosaic. Within the houses they found dead bodies, medals, cameos, intaglios, small statues, which were probably their *dii penates* or *lares*, with furniture and things of all kinds. I was told that the bodies mouldered away when exposed to the air. I saw the whole utensils of a kitchen, pots, pans, glass bottles, shapes for making pies, &c. In an oven was found a loaf still entire, on which is stamped the name of the baker; and, in earthen pots, corn quite fresh.

The elegant forms and execution of the kitchen furniture found in Herculaneum, as well as the statues, paintings, tables, &c. show the opulence of that city; because the rich only could procure furniture of such value, and which has been found there, even in the most inconsiderable habitations.

It is impossible for me to give you a catalogue of this vast treasure, which is daily increasing, and will serve to clear up many difficulties concerning the history, customs, arts, and religious rites of the ancients.

The King of Naples, proud of this singular collection, has caused a palace to be built at Portici, where every thing found in Herculaneum is preserved. A bold attempt, you will say, to build a city where one formerly met with such a catastrophe. But the inhabitants of this country foolishly think, that the eruptions of Vesuvius will never again be so considerable, as it is in a manner so worn out, with daily throwing up quantities of matter. I was really astonished to see what vollies of

stones and sulphur it threw out, attended with a noise like that of many cannon. This effect, though natural, is so surprising, that it is no wonder to find the ignorant people here believe Vesuvius to be the mouth of hell. Astonishment produces fear, and fear begets superstition: hence they imagine that the noise of the volcano is the cries of the damned, and that the eruptions are the effects of their fury.

I cannot help regretting the method they have taken to clear out this city. Had they laid it open from the top, we should have had the pleasure of seeing it as it formerly stood; we should have seen the disposition of the streets, houses, temples, &c.; we should have seen the interior of the houses, and a thousand curiosities we are now deprived of. But, as the city lies so far below ground, it would have been an immense expense to have wrought in this manner. They have therefore satisfied themselves with clearing it out like a mine, by leaving a number of pillars to support the roof, which otherwise would be in danger of falling. In most places they have filled up the houses, which they had already gutted of whatever was curious, with the rubbish they took from the adjacent ones. And after wandering some hours with torches, I cannot say I was able to form a distinct notion of the situation of the houses, streets, or any thing, except of the theatre, which was not again filled up. Such was the confusion that reigned every where!

Thus, Sir, have I attempted to give you an idea of this famous discovery: a minute description of it would require

volumes. Such a work is to be published by Monsignor Baiardi, the king's librarian, who told me that his first volume was mostly printed. This work will consist of several volumes in folio, and there will be prints of whatever is most curious. They are designed by Camillo Paderni, and engraved by Pozzi.

I am, &c.

THE

INDEX.

A

Page

Ad gallinas Albas - - 41
——— Livia's henhouse 224
Ad pilam Tiburtinam - - 243
Adrian, see Hadrian.
Ædes, see Temple.
Ægeria, see Fountain.
Æsculapius, see Island, Temple.
———, votive inscriptions to 379
Agger of Tarquinius 25, 27, 242
Agnes, see Church.
Agriculture honoured by the Romans 133
Agrippa, see Baths—Gardens—Pantheon—septa Julia, and Temple of Neptune, and Argonauts.
Alaric - - - - - 10
Alba Longa - - - 461
Albani, see villa.
Albano - - - 65, 453
Albanum Pompeii - - *ib*
Albuneæ domus - - - 419
——— Forest or Lucus - 407
Aldobrandini marriage, see Paintings.
Alexander and Bucephalus, see Statues.
Alsium - - - 129
Amiantus, or asbestos, or linum vivum - - - 167
Amphitheatre at Albano - - 454
——— Atilius, at Fidenæ 48
——— Castrense - 63
——— Statilius Taurus - 267
——— Vespasian - - 329
Angerona, the concealed name of Rome - - - 2
Anician family - - - 181
Annibal, see Hannibal.
Anio, now called Teverone - 403
Annius Verus, the house of - 187
Annual nail, or Clavus annalis 147

Page

Antoninus and Faustina, see Temple.
Aqua Almonis, or Mercurii - 89
—— Antoniniana - - - 86
—— Crabra, or Marana - 73, 320
—— Passeris - - - 38
—— Santa, or Salutare - - 76
—— Salvia - - - 121
—— Traversa - - - 39
—— Virginis - - - 55
Aquæ Albulæ - - - 404
Aqueducts - - - 389
———, Appia - - - 86
———, Agrippa - - 56
———, Anio Vetus - - 197
———, Claudian 57, 159, 183, 197
———, Julian - 197, 401
———, Marcian 86, 183, 197, 401
———, Tepulan - 197, 401
———, Trajan - - 129
Arch of Constantine - - 325
——— Drusus - - 85
——— Galienus - - 197
——— Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus - - - 266
——— Pantani - - 354
——— Septimius Severus 308, 361
——— Tiberius - - 154
——— Titus - - - 341
——— Trajan - - 217
——— Triumphal - - 375
Archimonium, see Forum.
Architecture, revival of - 5
——— Greek - - 6
——— Tuscan - 7
Ardea - - - 91
Argonauts, see Portico.
Aricia, vale of - - 457
Armilustrum - - 166
Aruntian, see Sepulchre.

Page

Asbestos, see Amiantus.
Asylum of Romulus - - 139
———, cities of refuge - - 441
Atian family - - - 121
Atrium - - - 16
———Libertatis - 150, 169
Atticus Herodes, see Triopium.
Augers - - - 26, 224
Augustus added to the magnificence of the city. - - 15
——— politically embellished it 300
——— encouraged luxury - 18
——— a cause of the decline of Rome - - - 19
——— mausoleum - - 34, 252
——— absurd flattery paid him 300
——— see Forum.
——— see Villa.
Aurelian extended the walls of Rome 23
——— trumphed over Zenobia 407
Aventine hill - - - 165

B

Baccano - - - 36
Bacchus, see Temple.
Bad Fortune, altar of - - 200
Balbus, see Statue, see Theatre.
Barberini vase - - - 68
Basilic, Æmilian - - 16
——— Antoninus Pius - - 272
——— Nerva - - 354
——— Pompey - - 297
——— Portius - - 359
——— Sempronius - - 309
Bas-relieves 15, 112, 228, 268, 438
Baths of Agrippa - - 286
——— Agrippina - - 203
——— Alexander Severus - 288
——— Caracalla - - 174
——— remarks on bathing *ib.*
——— introduction of baths *ib.*
——— the Roman Thermæ 175
——— expense of bathing 176
——— time of bathing *ib.*
——— police of the baths 177
——— for the different sexes *ib.*
——— magnificence of 178
——— Cecilia, St. - - 386

Page

Baths of Constantine - - 228
——— Dioclesian, particularly described - - - 204
——— Domitian - - 191, 195
——— Nero - - 288
——— Novatus - - 203
——— Olympias - - 202
——— Paulus Æmilius - 224
——— Titus - - 190
——— Trajan - - 191, 195
Battle of Constantine and Maxentius 38
Belisarius - - 10, 50
Blandusiæ, see Fountain.
Boarium, see Forum.
Bocca della Verità - - 318
Bona Dea, see Temples.
Borghese, see Villa.
Bovillæ, now Frattocchia - 111
Bracciani, see Lacus.
Bridges, see Pons.
Burying ground - - 195
Busta - - 107, 252

C

Cacus, cave of - - 169
Cæcilia Metella, see Sepulchre.
——— Saint, see Church.
Cœnacula - - - 16
Campus Hannibalus - 46, 464
——— Martius - - 249
——— Prætorian - 209, 454
——— Sceleratus - 236
——— Vaticanus - - 23, 132
Capitol hill - - 138
———, its small extent - *ib.*
———, no ancient delineation of it, - - - 139
———, entrances to it - 153
———, Capitolium vetus - 232
Capranica - - 37
Capo di Bové - - 105
Capuchins at Albano, a fine situation 454
Caracalla, see Baths, Circus.
Carmentalis, see Porta.
Castelnuovo - - - 36
Cart wheel petrified - - 420
Cascade of the Anio at Tivoli 417
———a forge blown by a fall of water *ib.*

Page

Cassiodorus - - 15
Castel Gandolfo - - 454
Castel St. Angelo, or Moles Hadriani 374
Cartellana Civita - - 36
Castelnuovo - - *ib.*
Castellum of the Fabii - 39
——— Claudian aqueduct, &c. 29, 57, 197
Castrum peregrinorum - 185
——— prætorianorum - 215
Castor and Pollux - 61, 71, 311
———, see Temple.
Catacombs - - 96
Cavædium - - 16
Celian Hill - - 181
Celiolus - - - 188
Cellars, very cold, see Monte Testaccio.
Cento Celle, a college of gladiators 60
Cestius's Pyramid - - 117
Characters, see Greek.
Chimneys - - 20
Churches of St. Agnes - 49
——— St Alexius - 166
——— St. Antony - 196
——— St. Cecilia - 385
——— St. Constanza - 49
——— St. Gregory - 181
——— St. John Lateran 186
——— ante portam Latinam - - 188
——— St. John and Paul, brothers 182
——— St. Laurence *in Lucina* 254
——— *in pane e perna* - - - 203
——— on the Tivoli road - - 55, 401
——— St. Lucia in Scelce 195
——— Madonna del Popolo 33
——— St. Maria Maggiore 196
——— and all the Martyrs - - 279
——— and all the Saints 209
——— *o p ra la Minerva* 275
——— St. Maria *in Trastevere* 387
——— St. Martino *a Monte* 195
——— St. Peter - 284

Page

Churches of St. Paul - - 120
——— S. S. Prascede and Pudentiana - - 203
——— St. Prisca - 166
——— St. Sabina - *ib.*
——— St. Sebastian - 95
——— St. Stephano in rotonda 183
——— Tre Fontané - 121
——— St. Urbano - 93
Cicero's Tusculum, see Villa
Cincinnatus's farm - 38, 132
Circus Agonalis - 44, 241, 289
——— Caracalla - - 99
——— Flaminius - - 298
——— Flora - - 242
——— Hadrian - - 133
——— Maximus - - 319
——— Nero - - 287
——— Sallust - - 241
Citta Leonina - - 29
Civita Castellana - 36
Civita Vecchia - - 128
Classics, use of in examining ancient Rome - - - 11
Claudius, see Temple.
Clivus Cinnæ - - 130
——— Scauri - - 181
Cloaca Maxima - - 306
Cola di Rienzo - - 311
Collatium - - 55, 401
Collis Hortulorum; see Mons Pincius
Column of Antoninus Pius - 268
——— Marcus Aurelius Antoninus - - 269
——— Trajan - - 217
Columnæ Farnesianæ - 105
Combat, see Horatii and Curiatii.
———, see Torquatus.
Comedians, a school of - 113
Comes - - 410
Comitium - - 359
Composite order - - 5
Conché - - 408
Conclusion - - 390
Concord, see Temple.
Constantine defeated Maxentius 38
Constantine, see Arch, Baths, Statues.
Consuls, their government - 4
Correctores - - - 428

Page

Corinthian order - - 5
Coriolanus and his mother, &c. 74
Corvelian, see Sepulchre.
Corso, il - - 170, 266
Cremora, or Valca - 28, 36
Crescens, Nicholas, house of - 311
Cross for the conversion of Hen. IV. 197
Cryptæ - - 412, 458
Cubicula - - - 16
Cubicularii - - - 143
Curia of Hostilius - 182, 359
——— Pompey - - 297
Curiatii, see Horatii.
Cybelé - - - 89, 278

D

Diæta - - - 16
Domitian's baths - - 195
——— mica aurea - 185
——— restored the imperial palace 157
——— built the temple of Pallas 354
Doric order - - 5

E

Elephants taught to dance on ropes 244
Emperors, their reign - - 4
Entrance to the Capitol - 153
Epochs of Roman history - 3
Ergastulum - - 40
Exchange for money dealers 310

F

Fabiensis - - - 464
Fabii Castellum - - 28
Faliscum - - - 41
Fasti Consulares - - 153
Faunus, see Temple.
——— sacred grove - - 407
Feriæ Latinæ - - 463
Ficulense - - - 49
Fidenæ - - - - 47
Flues - 21, 210, 212, 386
Fontana di Paolo V. - - 129
——— di Treve - - 56
Fountain of Ægeria - - 91
——— Blandusiæ - 424
Forum Archimonium - 243
——— Augustus - - 353

Page

Forum Boarium - - 307
——— Cassii—by Serafini, reckoned Vetralla - - 38
——— Julius Cæsar - - 352
——— Nerva - - 353
——— Olitorium - - 307
——— Piscatorium - - ib.
——— Populi - - 464
——— Romanum - - 355
——— Sallust - - 235
——— Trajan - - 217
Frascati - - 65, 70
Frattocchie - - - 111

G

Gabii - - - 59
Gabinus Lacus - - - ib.
Galli, the priests of Cybelé - 89
Gallery of pictures at the Capitol 153
Gardens of Adonis - - 159
——— Agrippa - - 287
——— Julius Caesar - 126
——— Mæcenas - - 193
——— Pompey - - 247
——— Sallust - - 246
Gates, see Porta.
———, number of - - 27
———, double gates - - ib.
———, a statue at each gate - 29
———, number of gates lessened ib.
———, at present sixteen - ib.
———, built up, marked Pl. III. B. 53
C. 54
D. ib.
E. 57
F. ib.
G. 73
H. 114
I. ib.
Genesius Marcianus, see sepulchre of Alexander Severus.
Genseric - - - 10
Ghetto - - - 299
Gladiators - - 60, 330
Glass, see Windows.
Græcastasis - - 361
Grecian architecture and arts introduced at Rome - - 6, 8
Greek characters, see Herodes Atticus.

Page

Gregory the Great - 181
Grotta Ferrata - - 2
Grotta Rossa, or Saxa Rubra 40
Grove sacred to Juno - 196
Guiscard, Robert - 10
Gymnasium - - 72, 159

H

Hadrian, see Circus, Sepulchre, Villa.
Hannibal's encampment - 46, 464
———; See Temple of Ridicule.
Harbour, see Ostia, Porto.
Herculaneum - - 466
Hercules Farnese, see Statues, Temples.
Herodes Atticus, see Triopium.
Hieroglyphics, Ægyptian 168, 258
Hills, see Rome, seven hills - 135
—— Albanus, or Monte Cavo 462
—— Aventine - - - 165
—— Bagnanapoli 227
—— Capitol - - 138
—— Celian, or Querquetulanus 181
—— Celiolus - - 188
—— Citorio - - 267
—— Esquinal - - 190
—— Grano, see sepulchre of Alexander Severus.
—— Janiculum 128, 131, 136, 375 384, 385
—— Mario, or Clivus Cinnæ 131
—— Palatine - - 156
—— Pincian, or Mons Hortulorum 136, 245
—— Quirinal - - 226
—— Sacer - - 50
—— Testaccio - - 169
—— Vaticanus - 24, 296, 387
—— Viminal - - 202
Hippodromus - - 50, 159
Homer, deification of - 112
Horatii, combat with the Curiatii 110
——— their supposed sepulchre at Albano - - - 456
Horatius Flaccus, see Villa.
Hot-houses - - 22
Hours, ancient manner of computing them - - - 264
——— modern manner 265

Page

Houses, height of - 13
Hypocaustum - 113, 212

I

Janus, see Temple.
Jewry, see Ghetto.
Ilex - - - 65
Iliads, see Homer.
Inscriptions on the Cornelian sepulchre 81
——— Lex regia - 150
——— The sons of Constantine 428
Insulæ - - - 13
John, St. ante Portam Latinam 188
John and Paul, brothers 182
Ionic order - - 5
Island, of Æsculapius 376
Isola - - 36, 39
—— Sacra 123
Juno, see Temple.
Jupiter, see Temple.
Jus imaginis - - 16

K

Kings, their reign - 3
Knights went annually from the temple of honour and virtue, to be reviewed by the censor - - 78
——— their seats in the amphitheatre 338

L

Labicum - 62
Lacrymatory vessels - - 97
Lacus Albanus - - 458
——— formerly a volcano 459
——— its outlet - *ib.*
——— Alsietinus, now Martignano 129
——— Curtius - - 364
——— Gabinus - - 59
——— Jurtunus - - 310
——— Nemi, called speculum Dianæ 459
——— Regillus - - 61
——— Sabatinus, now Bracciano 129
——— Solfatara, or Aquæ Albulæ 404
——— Tartaro - - 403

Page

Lapis Albanus - - 13
——— Cepollino - - 351
——— Gabinus - - 13
——— Phrigius - 351
——— Piperinus, or Peperino 79
——— Specularis - - 22
——— Tiburtinus, or Travertino 403
Lateran, see Church, Palace.
Laurentum - - 116
——— see Pliny.
Lavinium - - 116
Lectisternia - - 117
Lex regia - - 152
Licinius, see sepulchre.
Libraries of Augustus 160
——— Cicero - 72
——— Lucullus - *ib.*
——— Trajan, called the Ulpian, 208, 217
——— Vespasian - 348
Lucus, see Albunæ.
Ludus magnus - - 198
Luxury encouraged by the emperors 18

M

Macellum magnum - 184
Magazines and graneries - 169
Malta, priorato of - 168
Marble plan of Rome 159, 198, 290, 301, 349
Marino - - 65, 74
Marriages explained - 434
Masks, use of - - 292
Melville, General, Roman order of battle - - 222
——— see War Galleys.
Meridian line - - 209
Meta sudans - 340
Mica aurea, see Domitian.
Miles reckoned from the gates, and not from the forum - - 88
Milliarium aureum - 88, 364
Mithras, worship of - 228
Mons, see hill.
Monticelli - 403
Mosaic, pigeons at Hadrian's villa 413
——— at Prænesse - - 446
——— representing a vintage 49
——— see - - 72, 196

Page

Muro Torto, marked A. Plate III. 41
Museum at the Capitol - 152

N

Narses - 45, 50
Nasonian, see Sepulchre.
Navicella - 186
Nero's golden house - 344
——— see Baths.
Nilometer - - 451
Nomentum, now Lamentana 49, 51
Numa - - 92
Numicus - - 116
Nympheum - 232, 458

O

Obelisks (two) at Augustus's mausoleum 253
——— at Caracalla's circus 100
——— (two) at the circus maximus 323
——— Meridian line in the Campus Martius - - 254
——— at the church of the Minerva 276
——— at Nero's Circus - 387
——— at Sallust's Circus - 242
Opima spolia - - 141
Osteria del Fosso - - 39
——— dell' Osa - 55
Ostia - - 122
Ovation - 463
Ovid banished by Augustus 394
——— see Nasonian sepulchre.

P

Palace, the Imperial, see Palatine hill
——— Lateran - - 186
——— Pincian - 43, 247
——— Titus - - 191
Palatine hill - - 156
——— Imperial palace - *ib.*
——— its situation - 157
——— described by Bianchini *ib.*
——— gardens of Adonis 158
——— a theatre - 159
——— Claudian Aqueduct *ib.*
——— Temple of Apollo *ib.*
——— libraries - 160

Page

Palatine hill. Imperial palace.
——— —— a magnificent hall 161
——— —— baths - - *ib.*
——— —— temple of Augustus *ib.*
——— —— front of the palace 162
——— —— principal entrance 163
——— —— temple of Viriplaca *ib.*
Pantheon, see Temple.
Paris, see Sepulchre.
Petrifactions - - 403, 405
———— a cart wheel petrified 420
Pictures, remarks on ancient paintings 473
——— Aldobrandini marriage 194
——— Coriolanus and his mother 75
——— found in Hadrian's villa 413
——— ——— in Herculaneum 472
——— ——— in the Imperial palace - - - 161
——— ——— in Titus's baths 193
Pincian palace - - 247
Pits for preserving snow or ice 464
Plautian family, see Sepulchre.
Pliny the younger's villa of Laurentum 114
——————— of Tuscum 115
——— house on the Esquiline hill 201
Pomærium - - - 26
Pompey, see Albano, Curia, Gardens, Theatre.
Pons Ælius, now called Ponte St. Angelo - - - 371
—— Cestius, now Ponte Ferrata 376
—— Due ponti - - 38
—— Fabricius, now Ponte di Quatro Capi - - - 376
—— Janiculensis, now Ponte Sisto 375
—— Lucanus - - 408
—— Mammeus - - 402
—— Milvius, now Ponte Mollé 33
—— Nomentanus - - 50
—— Palatinus, or Senatorius, now Ponte Rotto - - 383
—— Salara - - 45
—— Sublicius, now destroyed 383
—— Triumphalis, now destroyed 375
Popolo, see Porta.
Porta Angelica - - 130
—— Asinaria - - 65

Page

Porta Capena, see San Sebastiano.
—— Carmentales - 306
—— Castello, di - - 132
—— Cavalleggieri - - 130
—— Celimontana - 65
—— Collatina - - 55, 401
—— Esquilina - 57
—— Fabrica - 130
—— Firentina - - 73
—— Flaminia - - 34
—— Flumentana - - 306
—— inter aggeres, marked C. Plate III. 53, 401
—— Labicana - - 57
—— Latina - - 74
—— Maggiore - - 57
—— Ostiense - - 117
—— Pia - - - 49
—— Pinciana - - 43
—— Popolo, del, substituted for Flaminia - - - 33
—— Portese - - 125
—— Prænestina - 57
—— Querquetulana, marked D. Plate III. - - 54
—— Salara - - 44
—— San Giovanni - 65
—— —— Lorenzo - 55, 401
—— —— Pancrazio - 128
—— —— Paolo - - 117
—— —— Sebastiano - - 77
—— Septimiana - 386
—— Tiburtina - - 54
—— Trigemina - 117
—— Viminale - - - 54
Portico of the Argonauts - 274
——— commonly called the Curia of Tullus Hostilius - - 182
——— of Octavia - 300
Porto - - - 125
Prata Quinctia, see Cincinnatus.
Prætorian, see Campus.
Prisons, of the Decemvirs - 304
———, see Ergastulum.
———, Tullianum - - 149
Prostitutes - 188, 309, 322

Q

Quirinal hill - - 226
Quirinalis Jupiter, see Temple.

Page

R

Regillus lacus - - 61
Ricimer - - - 10
Ripetta, formerly Navalia - 132
Roads, see Via.
Rocca di Papa - - 464
Roma Quadrata - 12, 156
Rome, plan of, see Marble.
—— properly founded by Romulus 1
—— though inhabited before his time 2
—— it was called Saturnia - *ib.*
—— its concealed name was Angerona *ib.*
—— governed 1st, by kings, 2dly, by consuls, and 3dly, by emperors 3
—— intention of these remarks 4
—— use of these remains - 5
—— devastations by the barbarians 9
—— —— in the middle age 10
—— progress of - - 12
—— streets narrow and houses high *ib.*
—— regulations for building - 13
—— luxury in building - 14
—— its walls extended by Aurelian 23
—— —— by the Popes 24
—— its extent after the expulsion of the kings - - - *ib.*
—— number of its inhabitants uncertain - - - 25
—— see Gates, or Porta.
—— divided into regiones - 30
—— arrangement of the remarks 31
—— Seven Hills - - 135
—— —— their present height 137

S

Sacrarium of the Dea Bona - 111
—— of the Julian family 112
Saloné - - - 55
Sallust's gardens - - 246
—— house - - 235
Sarcophagus in the church of St. Constanza, on which is represented a vintage - - - 49
—— of Helen the mother of Constantine - - - 60
—— of Cæcilia Metella 104
—— of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus - - 80

Page

Sarcophagus found at Monte del grano, now in the Capitol - 66
—— it contained the Barberini vase 68
—— in the church of St. Sebastian, representing marriage ceremonies 402, 430
—— of the Nine Muses at the Capitol - - - 121
Senaculum of the Roman ladies 227
Septa Julia - - - 273
Septi Trigarii - - 274
Sepulchral monuments at Albano 454, 455, 462.
—— —— of Alexander Severus and mother - - 65
—— —— Aruntian - 199
—— —— Augustus - 252
—— —— Cæcilia Metella 104
—— —— C. Vibius Marianus 35
—— —— Cestius's pyramid 117
—— —— Cornelian - 79
—— —— inscriptions found in it - - - - 80
—— —— Domitian - 42
—— —— Hadrian, Moles Hadriani - - - 372
—— —— Helen, the mother of Constantine - - 60
—— —— Liberti, &c. of Livia 94
—— —— Licinius - 45
—— —— Nasonian 39, 391
—— —— remarks on disposing of the bodies of the dead - *ib.*
—— —— Ovid - 394
—— —— Palazzuolo, at 462
—— —— Pallans - 402
—— —— Paris, a comedian 39
—— —— Plautian - 409
—— —— Plebeian - 200
—— —— Poblicius Bibulus 155
—— —— Scipio Africanus 90
—— —— Septizonium of Septimius Severus - - 325
—— —— on the Via Appia 87
—— —— at the gate of San Pancrazia - - 128
—— —— Torrioné - 57
Sette Sale - - - 191
Statues very numerous - 15

Page

Statues, Agrippa - - 279
——— Alexander and Bucephalus, or perhaps Castor and Pollux - 229
——— Antinous - 193, 414
——— Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius 139, 187, 471
——— Apoxyomenon - 287
——— Augustus - - 279
——— Balbus Nonius - 471
——— Caunis and Byblis - 413
——— Centaurs - - *ib.*
——— Cleopatra - - 470
——— Constantine and sons 229
——— Danaus, the fifty daughters of, &c. - - - 160
——— Egyptian idols - 413
——— Ennius, Q. - - - 90
——— Flora - - 413
——— Hercules Farnesian - 178
——— ——— Torso at the Vatican 291
——— ——— found in Herculaneum 470
——— Hermaphrodite - 236
——— Julius Cæsar - 279, 358
——— Jupiter - - - 146
——— Juno - - - *ib.*
——— Laocoon and sons - 191
——— Mercury, commonly called Antinous - - - - 193
——— Minerva - - 146
——— Marmillo, or dying gladiator 246
——— Nile - - 348
——— Pompey - - 297
——— River gods - 228
——— Romulus and Remus sucking the wolf - - - 145, 358
——— Toro Farnesian - 180
——— Torso at the Vatican 291
——— Venus, Medici - 302
——— ———, in the Pantheon 283
——— Vestals - - 470
Storta - - - 36
Suburra - - - 188
Supper the principal meal - 17
Sutri - - - 37

T

Taberna Meritoria - - 387
Tabularium - - 149
Tarpeian rock - - 148
Temples without windows - 20

Page

Temple, Ædes Fidei - 148
——— Ædes Fortis Fortunæ 127
——— Æsculapius - 207, 356
——— Albulæ - - 407
——— Antoninus and Faustina 350
——— Apollo - 159, 207, 389
——— Augustus - 161, 359
——— Bacchus - 49, 93
——— Bona Dea - 111, 168
——— Castor and Pollux 357, 359
——— Claudius - - 183
——— Concord - - 359
——— Cnuphis - - 451
——— Cybelé - 278, 313
——— Diana - - 165, 196
——— Faunus - - 183, 382
——— Febri Fanum - 427
——— Filial piety - - 304
——— Fortune at Antium 445
——— ——— Bad - 200
——— ——— Female - 74
——— ——— at Præneste 441
——— ——— Virilis - 312
——— Hercules - 166, 418
——— Honour and Virtue 77, 93
——— Hope - - 53
——— Isis, see Serapis, Temple.
——— Janus - - 308
——— ——— Quadrifrons - *ib.*
——— Juno - 166, 196, 301
——— ——— Lucina - 254
——— Jupiter Capitolinus 140, 143, 425
——— ——— Feretrius - 140, 141
——— ——— Latialis - 462
——— ——— Stator - 356
——— ——— Tonans - 150
——— ——— Ultor - 278, 382
——— Mars - - 77, 216
——— ——— Ultor - 353
——— Minerva - 275, 458
——— ——— Medica - 198
——— Muses - - 93, 207
——— Neptune - 274, 401
——— Nerva - - 354
——— Pales, see Rome, Temple.
——— Pallas - - 354
——— Pantheon - - 277
——— Peace - - 346
——— Pudicitia Patricia - 317

	Page
Temple of Pudicitia Plebeia	317
——— Quirinus - 143,	230
——— Rediculc - -	95
——— Rome and Venus, or Pales	345
——— Romulus - -	358
——— ——— and Remus	348
——— Salus, health -	231
——— Saturn - 351,	363
——— Serapis and Isis 98, 168,	345
——— Sybilla Albunea -	418
——— Solis, the Sun -	228
——— Sun and Moon -	345
——— Tussis - -	427
——— Venus Erycina 44,	237
——— ——— and Cupid -	200
——— ——— Genetrix -	352
——— Vesta - 313, 357,	418
——— Viriplaca - -	163
——— Voluptas -	313
Testaccio, see Hill.	
Theatre, Balbus - -	299
——— C. Curio - -	293
——— Hadrian - -	412
——— Herculaneum -	470
——— Marcellus - -	302
——— on the Palatine hill	159
——— Pompey - -	289
——— Scaurus - -	293
Tiber - - - 3,	366
Tibur, or Tivoli, and its environs	400
Tor di Conti - -	227
——— Militie - -	*ib.*
——— Quinto -	38
——— Schiava - -	58
Torrioné - - -	57
Torquatus' combat with the Gaul	45
——— arms and dress -	*ib.*
Totila - - -	10
Trajan's Forum and Column	217
Transtiberim - -	385
Tre Fontane, or ad aquas Salvias	121
Tribunes - -	51
Triclinia - 16,	158
Triopium of Herodes Atticus	105
Triumph instituted by Romulus	141
Trophies (two) at the Capitol	198
Tuscan order - -	5
Tullianum - - -	154
Tusculum, founded by Telegonus	71

V

	Page
Valca, or Cremora - -	39
Variana clades - -	422
Vaticanus, see Campus.	
Veii - -	3, 35
Velabrum - - -	306
Venus, see Temple.	
Vesta, see Temple.	
Vestal virgins - -	357
———, see Campus Sceleratus.	
Vestibulum - -	16
Vesuvius, its eruptions -	468
Via Appia - - 77, 86,	457
—— Ardeatina -	91
—— Aurelia - 35,	128
—— Cassia - -	35
—— Flaminia - -	*ib.*
—— Labicana - -	60
—— Latina - -	74
—— Laurentina - -	114
—— Ostiensis -	117
—— Portuensis - -	125
—— Prænestina - -	57
—— Sacra - 341, 346,	348
—— Tiburtina - -	55
—— Triumphalis - -	130
—— Vitellia - -	128
Vico de Cornelii - -	228
Villa Albani - -	44
—— Alexander Severus -	121
—— Augustus, called ad gallinas albas	41, 124
—— Borghese	43
—— Cicero's Tusculum	72
—— Domitian - -	458
—— Esté - -	426
—— Hadrian -	410
—— Horace - -	422
—— Julius Cæsar	62
—— Lucullus - - 71,	72
—— Mæcenas - -	421
—— Manilius Vopiscus -	426
—— Mattei - - -	185
—— Ovid -	396
—— Pamfili - -	129
—— Pompey - -	453
—— Quintilius Varo -	421
—— Ruffus Virginius -	129
—— Rufinella - - 71,	73

	Page
Villa of Seneca	51
—— Tivoli, villas at	420
—— Zenobia	407
Virgil's enigma, eclog. 3, solved	284
Virginia	365
Viri clarissimi	429
Vitriano	408

U

Ustrina, the public	106

W

Walls and gates	26
War galleys, their construction discovered by General Melville	367
Windows, glass	21
Wines (Italian) ancient and modern	52

Z

Zenobia, see Villa.	

DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOK-BINDER.

THE Portrait to front the Title page.

Plate.

1. The Map of the Environs of Rome, to be placed with a guard, fronting page 33.
2. Caracalla's Circus, with a guard, at page 99.
3. The Plan of Ancient Rome, with a guard, before page 135.
4. Diocletian's Baths, between pages 206 and 207.
5. and 6. The Pantheon—Plan and Elevation—at page 277.
7. Pompey's Theatre, at page 290.
8. and 9. Vespasian's Amphitheatre—Plan and Elevation—at page 329.
10. Inscriptions in the Temple of Esculapius, at page 379.
11. and 12. Sarcophagus in the Church of St. Laurence—Front and Sides—with a guard, between pages 430 and 431.

00082073

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016